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The Language of the Dolmabahçe Palace: Communicating Change in the Tanzimat-Era Ottoman Empire

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The Language of the Dolmabahçe Palace: Communicating Change in the Tanzimat-Era Ottoman Empire

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Abstract

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The Dolmabahçe Palace in Istanbul, Turkey, stretches along the European side of the Bosphorus shore in monumental glory, opened with great fanfare in 1856. An unapologetically lavish and bold statement from an Empire that would not last another century, the palace sits at a crossroads between Ottoman and Turkish history, representing in one era optimism for the future and in another era the decaying remains of the past. Despite its construction in a time of modernization and liberalization within the Empire, current interpretations of the palace describe it as both a symptom and a cause of this decay—an exercise in international chest-thumping meant to show Ottoman strength, blind westernization, or the bankrupting capricious work of a frivolous Sultan. An understanding of the ways in which this era of Ottoman history, and thus the narrative of the palace, have been politicized reveals the bias in these perspectives and obscures the true purpose of the palace: to serve as a physical embodiment of the principles of reformation and modernization. Using the language of architecture, the palace addresses a time of great national and international change by speaking to the creation of a civic

Ottoman identity, providing tangible proof of the Empire's political commitment and drive to reform, and encouraging Ottoman citizens to take up a more modern lifestyle. The building's eclectic and ornate style represents a synthesis of identities and outlooks that link the Tanzimat reform era and the reign of Sultan Abdülmecid to an Ottoman past, a reforming present, and an internationally-oriented future. It is the goal of this study to demonstrate how exactly the Dolmabahçe Palace communicates the architectural as political—the ways in which its forms, symbolism, and ornamental pattern language speak to an Empire and a world in the process of change.

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Introduction

The Dolmabahçe Palace in Istanbul, Turkey, stretches along the European side of the Bosphorus shore in monumental glory, opened with great fanfare in 1856 (fig. 1). An unapologetically lavish and bold statement from an Empire that would not last another century, the palace sits at a crossroads between Ottoman and Turkish history, representing in one era optimism for the future and in another era the decaying remains of the past. Despite its construction in a time of modernization and liberalization within the Empire, current interpretations of the palace describe it as both a symptom and a cause of this decay—an exercise in international chest-thumping meant to show Ottoman strength, blind westernization, or the bankrupting capricious work of a frivolous Sultan. An understanding of the ways in which this era of Ottoman history, and thus the narrative of the palace, have been politicized reveals the bias in these perspectives and obscures the true purpose of the palace: to serve as a physical embodiment of the principles of reformation and modernization. Using the language of architecture, the palace addresses a time of great national and international change by speaking to the creation of a civic Ottoman identity, providing tangible proof of the Empire's political commitment and drive to reform, and encouraging Ottoman citizens to take up a more modern lifestyle. The building's eclectic and ornate style represents a synthesis of identities and outlooks that link the Tanzimat reform era and the reign of Sultan Abdülmecid to an Ottoman past, a reforming present, and an internationally-oriented future. It is the goal of this study to demonstrate how exactly the Dolmabahçe Palace communicates the architectural as political—the ways in which its forms, symbolism, and ornamental pattern language speak to an Empire and a world in the process of change.

This thesis begins by exploring the historical and political forces that have traditionally shaped the narrative of the Palace in order to better interpret the meaning and significance of the palace's architectural language. Understanding of the Dolmabahçe Palace must be filtered through the beginnings of the Turkish Republic in the twentieth century. Because the Republic claims to break with the Empire and therefore with Ottoman history, the question of whether or not the nineteenth century political agenda is characterized by westernization or modernization becomes crucial. As a westernizing process, which implies no internal agency, it becomes possible for the republican movement to isolate the nineteenth century and claim it as an inferior "other." However, if the era represents an internally driven process of modernization, it is necessarily linked to the modernizing reforms of the twentieth century through a continuum of history. Failure to challenge this delegitimization of the nineteenth century makes it almost impossible to understand and explore the role of architecture and what it communicates within its context, because it has none. It therefore becomes necessary to next explore the political bias that requires the Tanzimat era of the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire to serve as a twentieth century foil. In order for both eras to have the agency they deserve, this paper then applies a localizing, contextual concept of modernism and modernization, which allows each era to be placed in a continuum of modernization and change. Finally, the process of modernization is examined as a series of architectural translations that rely on the communicative power of architecture to relay political content.

Having established the nineteenth century as an era of modernization and reform with its own agency and ability drive change, this paper turns to an examination of how the architecture of the Dolmabahçe Palace represents and communicates those reforms. In order to make the argument that the palace communicates the principles of the Tanzimat, this study draws upon Anthony Alofsin's framework in *When Buildings Speak:*

Architecture as Language in the Hapsburg Empire and Its Aftermath, 1867-1933.[1] In this section, popular interpretations of the Palace are explored and refuted in order to establish that the Empire was involved in efforts of architectural translation. It will be argued that these translations create a language of history that allows the Dolmabahçe Palace to communicate ideas of national and international identity, as well as a specific political position. The language of history spoken by the palace will be evaluated through its contextual formalism—the "historical, political, social, and cultural factors that gave meaning to the buildings and designs observed," and the "color, texture, mass, materials, and structure, as well as the images and symbols incorporated into the exterior and interior of the building."[2] As will be shown, the Dolmabahçe Palace uses its architectural language to serve as a physical manifestation of the Empire's commitment to the Tanzimat edicts and also to reflect the national and international context in which it was built.

Notes

[1] Anthony Alofsin, *When Buildings Speak* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006).

[2] Alofsin, *When Buildings Speak*, 11-12.

Removing Historical and Political Bias

The Tanzimat era of the Ottoman Empire has traditionally been viewed as a failed attempt, underpinned by European forces, to delay the inevitable decay and decline of the Empire. Frivolous and Western-oriented leaders blindly followed a path of westernization for an unequal seat at the Great Powers table.[1] In this scenario the Dolmabahçe Palace serves as an example of westernizing excess that merely copies the western European styles of the day, symbolizing Ottoman capitulation and decline. Alternatively, the palace has been portrayed as an effort to "prove" the Empire's worth and strength to western Europe. The political, social, and economic situation of the Empire was not a secret, however, and in this frame the palace simply highlights the Empire's weakness. The final perspective used to explain the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire comes from the view of the new Turkish Republic. The European leanings and modernization of the Tanzimat era are glossed over in favor of a narrative that claims the Republic represents a clean and total break with a corrupt, backward past (of which the Dolmabahçe Palace was a prime example). This apparent discontinuity results in the political necessity of demonizing the old to establish and give legitimacy to the new. Understanding the language of the Dolmabahçe Palace requires an exploration of the ways in which it has been trapped between these interpretations. In all cases, the Dolmabahçe Palace has traditionally represented an Empire in trouble.[2]

In order to untangle the legacy of the Dolmabahçe Palace and the Tanzimat era from this historical trap, it is first necessary to understand the political context of the era. Examination of the political context reveals that the era of the Dolmabahçe Palace was a time of progress and change driven from within in order to modernize the Empire and its operations. This is not to say that the West had no interest or role, or that western Europe

was not a source of modernization. It is, however, necessary to challenge the prevailing notion that the Empire pursued blind westernization as an imposition from the outside and as a direct importation to try to solve problems and look strong for Europe.

FILTERING OUT A WESTERN BIAS

The Ottoman Empire's path to political and social modernization began with a series of reforms instigated during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839), although roots can be traced back to the eighteenth century.[3] These reforms, collectively known as the Tanzimat, were codified into a series of edicts beginning in 1839. They reconceptualized the state as a secular nation underpinned by universal law, instigated governmental and legal reform, ended taxation inequities between Muslims and non-Muslims, and guaranteed of the rights of citizens.[4] The Rose Garden Edict of 1839 alluded to the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and contained similarities to the 1776 Virginia Bill of Rights, indicating a "sincere commitment" to modernization of the Ottoman government[5] based on "impersonal and rational decision making."[6] Furthermore, the Tanzimat era ushered in the creation of a bureaucratic and ministerial government; the political title of "Prime Minister" was used for the first time, and this new bureaucratic class demonstrated loyalty to the Empire rather than the person of the Sultan.[7] This strengthened government bureaucratic organization played an unprecedented role in drafting, codifying, and implementing administrative reform, again signaling a dramatic shift in the internal balance of political power within the Empire.[8] These reforms provide evidence for a shift along two crucial indicators of modernization: "the development of a state apparatus that is differentiated from the person of the ruler and the limited expansion of the ruling class."[9]

Ottoman scholarship, however, has tended to attribute any modernization efforts to external western factors, placing the Empire within a European frame of westernization. Bülent Özdemir, in his book *Ottoman Reforms and Social Life: Reflections from Salonica, 1830-1850*, surveys Tanzimat literature and provides a comprehensive review of these various western biases that have affected an understanding of the Tanzimat era. Özdemir implies that there are two strands of scholarship impacting the debate over the Tanzimat. The first strain "depicts the causes of the Tanzimat as arising from external factors, namely the impact of the West."[10] Change is driven from outside of the Empire, an importation of stop-gap measures to slow the inevitable decay of a dying Empire or instigated by western European fears over the effects of a failing Empire.[11] Both of these views revolve around a "dichotomy of the superior West and the inferior East and the view of the reforms as the outcome of a simple relation in which the West was always the independent core producer and the East was always the dependent receiver."[12] The second strain revolves around the narrative that the Tanzimat represented the Ottoman Empire's desire to join the modernized and civilized Western world, an "immoral" choice that "served to initiate a general degradation of Turkish culture."[13] This view revolved around the notion that the inferior Ottoman East could "pursue its destiny" through those "few intelligent persons lucky enough to comprehend the West, through whose enlightenment and understanding the Ottoman Empire could be led out of its darkness."[14]

Both strains are relevant to understanding the origins of the narratives surrounding the Dolmabahçe Palace. It is often written off as either an attempt by the Empire to copy western Europe, as an attempt to display Ottoman strength during a time of decline, or as a frivolity of Sultan Abdülmecid, perspectives explained by these broader interpretations of the Tanzimat.[15] In all cases, the Dolmabahçe Palace is

traditionally viewed as receiving its architectural direction from western Europe, for the purpose of westernization. While clearly the architectural influences examined here are European in origin, such a perspective misses the ways in which those influences were not a wholesale importation, but rather an assimilation and translation of ideas into a new context. As will be shown, the Dolmabahçe Palace was not a showpiece for western Europe, but part of a larger effort by the Ottoman government to communicate the path to modernization. In other words, the conventional narrative of the palace misplaces causality. The architecture of the palace came about *because* of the Tanzimat reforms; the reforms did not come about because of the importation of westernization and its related architectural structures.

In understanding the Tanzimat, it is vital to understand that the Ottoman Empire considered itself an equal participant in the concert of Europe.[16] That they borrowed or received influences from Europe, or followed western European examples as solutions to problems should not be seen as evidence "that they slavishly adopted the European 'superior' institutions or practices, because they had no choice or that they believed that a good society would result from it."[17] The Ottoman Empire had a long history of contact with the world outside of its borders, and had always been receptive to innovations that would improve the Empire and its way of life.[18] For example, British historian Frank Bailey conclusively demonstrates that although Britain maintained an interest in supporting the viability of the Ottoman Empire, the Empire's attempt at comprehensive social, religious, political, and cultural reform in the nineteenth century was internally conceived, produced, and driven.[19] It is crucial to understand this point, Özdemir argues, in order to understand the nature of the Tanzimat reforms:

> …because they were no more than the continuation of a process [that] started with the changes in Ottoman society [beginning] in the early nineteenth century. In the

> first place, Mahmud was the starter of the new thinking and spirit which insisted that reform was required and possible according to the needs and evolution of society. Secondly, Sultan Mahmud prepared the ground by countering abuses in Ottoman society not in theory but in practice in order to make significant changes later in the century. Thirdly, Mahmud's reforms…speak clearly and loudly that they were not imported from outside but were the outcome of internal dynamics. Taking the above facts into account, it is very difficult to assert that the Tanzimat reforms were made for the sake of 'insuring the favour of Western nations'…"[20]

The urbanization and regularization of Istanbul in the nineteenth century provides a salient demonstration of the tendency to conflate the process of modernization with westernization. When viewed through the prism of westernization, scholarship confuses influence with copying and mistakes a lack of identical results for an inferior outcome.[21] In the case of urbanization in Istanbul, Georges Haussmann's plans for the city of Paris serve as the standard by which the city is judged; the notion of an architectural translation of ideas taken up in a way that maximizes modernization efforts in response to specific political, social, and economic circumstances is never considered.[22]

Advisor Mustafa Reşit Paşa first recommended systematically regularizing the urban fabric of Istanbul after the Tanzimat edicts of 1939,[23] and Mahmud II then commissioned Prussian Helmuth von Moltke to prepare a development plan for the city. Von Moltke's plan addressed the common deficiencies found in old European cities: narrow and winding streets, timber construction, few open spaces, and lack of regulation over building dimensions or construction materials.[24] The proposal included standardization of street widths, the creation of squares, and the widening of main transportation arteries corresponding to the old thoroughfares of the city.[25] The plan was not formally implemented through one governmental push, but rather addressed in an *ad hoc* manner through bureaucratic commissions and building codes.[26] Implemented between 1848 and 1882, these codes established building regulations, street regulations,

and guidelines for construction methods in order to create uniformity across the city and enhance safety from the spread of fires.[27]

While Mustafa Reşit Paşa and von Moltke emphasized geometric regularity,[28] it was not the only guiding factor affecting Istanbul's urban development. Existing landmarks and fire reconstruction influenced city layout. Although streets were systematically widened and classified into categories,[29] accommodations were made for topography and existing structures. For example, in the particularly hilly areas of Sirkeci and Cagaloglu, "two big curves dictated by the contours of the land were incorporated into" a main thoroughfare. Existing monuments and mosques were also preserved, the intersection of two major roads shifted so that small mosques and a madressa "were not demolished in the rebuilding process."[30] Furthermore, the necessity of rebuilding areas ravaged by fire dictated the regularization of "urban patterns."[31] Instead of following Haussmann's lead and cutting "through the medieval fabric" of the city, the Ottoman government chose to focus on rebuilding individual neighborhoods.[32] This prevented complete standardization of the city façade, since each neighborhood maintained its identity, as well as a lack of connectivity between the areas.[33] While certainly the urbanization efforts of Paris influenced developments in Istanbul,[34] Zeynep Çelik laments that the "rules of Haussmann were not vigorously applied."[35]

The problem is that filtering the urbanization of Istanbul through a western lens misses the ways in which the city's hybrid approach synthesized both western European and domestic approaches to the urban fabric, and therefore the ways in which the urbanization process was just as much internally as externally driven and influenced. Thus, the traditional narrative indicates that the clearing of building around the Hagia Sophia and the Süleymaniye Mosque to create "unobstructed views of these monuments" was "an idea borrowed from contemporary Western urban preservation concepts, and in

particular from Haussmann."[36] However, this perspective ignores the fact that "the complexes of the Classical Ottoman period," such as the Süleymaniye Mosque, "were [already] planned quite independently of their surroundings and tended to impose their own identity on the urban structure."[37] Additionally, the monumental and orthogonal Selimiye Barracks complex, completed in 1806, imposed its order not only through domination of the coastline below but also on the adjacent neighborhood, which was the first housing scheme to be built on an orthogonal plan and well before Haussmann's ideas of regularity.[38] Complicating the urbanization narrative even further, the Ottoman Empire also had a legacy of integrating monuments into their surroundings. The Nuruosmaniye Mosque, completed in 1755, was the first great Ottoman complex to attempt to conform to its urban context.[39] What unfolds in the cityscape of Istanbul, then, is an approach to planning that references western European models when necessary but relies on traditional precedent at other times.

Thus the simultaneous deference to existing city fabric and desire to systematically modernize the urban landscape should not been seen as a failed attempt to copy western Europe, but rather a synthesis of approaches to fit both need and ability. It also echoes the contemporaneous debate occurring in Vienna over the urban integration of the Ringstrasse. Most of the buildings in the district were constructed as free-standing monuments. This design idea was promoted by Gottfried Semper, who, like Haussmann, argued that "monumental facades should be the theatrical backdrop to the rituals and institutions of urban life."[40] This form of urban development in Vienna was not a given, however; debate over the "planned city" and "skepticism of geometric order and regularity" revealed concern over "monotony" and the loss of the "distinct artistic wholeness of individual cities as the work of time and generations."[41] Viennese architect Camillo Sitte argued the idea that "bounded and enclosed spaces [were] both aesthetically

and psychologically more pleasing." Sitte believed that free-standing monuments should be integrated into, not liberated from, the city fabric.[42] That the Haussmann/Semper model became the *de facto* model of urbanization was not at this time a foregone conclusion, an understanding of Ottoman urbanization must be read in that context. In other words, although influenced by external factors, Ottoman efforts at urbanization were ultimately driven from within.

FILTERING OUT A POLITICAL BIAS

Recognizing the Tanzimat era Ottoman Empire's agency in making change from within removes the Eurocentric frame that has traditionally plagued its understanding. However, it does not alleviate the Turkish Republic's claim that the era was an "other," outside of the modernization movement that defined 1920s and 1930s Turkey. This political bias isolates and represses the nineteenth century Empire in the history of the country—it is not part of the Golden Age of Sinan nor is it part of the progressive Republic. If the Tanzimat era is denied links to modernization, it becomes impossible to claim the Dolmabahçe Palace as part of a modernizing process. Therefore, establishing a modernization link between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries allows for a neutralized understanding of modernization and a translational process of architecture to be mapped onto the nineteenth century.

Because of the need to establish a new Turkish identity during the creation of the Republic, the link between later Ottoman history and the founding of the Republic was effectively severed. According to Feroz Ahmad, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk continually "laid stress on the fact that the regime they were creating had nothing in common with the former Ottoman state and was a complete break with a corrupt past."[43] The Ottoman era, in other words, represented "everything that [was] wrong," serving as the

"fundamental obstacle" to modernization.[44] The era corresponding to the beginning of modernism is therefore systematically denied.[45] The "failure" of the latter part of the Empire provides legitimacy for the new order, allowing the Republic to categorize itself not as a successor to the Ottoman Empire but as triumphant over it.[46] Thus, the source of an Ottoman progress toward modernization is externalized so that the Empire itself can be delegitimized; the ability of the Empire to address problems is obfuscated by the narrative of inevitable decay and decline. Change in the Ottoman era is framed exogenously, which then permits its efforts at modernization to be characterized as a corrupt, frivolous, and ruinous effort at westernization conducted at the hand of outside European pressures. In short, placing the nineteenth century in an isolating "other" narrative denies it the agency needed to make its own internal change and therefore denies it legitimacy over its own history. History, as is so often the case, is written by the critics.

An understanding of change between the two eras is problematic, then, as "Turkish modernization has turned the historical era in which it came into existence, that is… the periods in which its own roots were shaped[,] into its own 'other.'"[47] By exogenizing the ability of the Empire to make its own change and setting it up as an "other," it also removed that agency from its own revolutionary movement. Turkish architectural historian Ugur Tanyeli implies that the Ottoman Empire was unable to save itself because it could not change, locked in an inevitable pattern of decay and decline. Change in the form of a new mode of government, then, would have also had to have been inspired from the outside, driven by "transfers or cultural borrowings from the West." And indeed, this external look toward western Europe was the centerpiece of Mustafa Kemel Atatürk 's political, social, and economic agenda.[48] This inconsistency is revealed in the disconnect that views twentieth century western European alignment as

progressive and good, while traditionally denigrating nineteenth century western European influence as corrupt and evidence of decay. The importation in the former case separates the Republic from its "other," while the importation in the latter case creates the "other." Tanyeli concludes that "Ottoman architectural history should be rewritten as a part of a history of modernization that walks away from pre-modernity gradually."[49] Modernization, is seems, traversed both the Empire and the Republic, placing the nineteenth century not as an Other but in direct dialog with the twentieth century.

Removing both the Eurocentric bias and the political bias gives agency to both eras in the continuum of modernization, allowing room for a more nuanced and fruitful conception of modernization. One way to do this is to reconceptualize modernization as a local, contextual process of events. In other words, understanding the Turkish Republic in terms of a more localized modernism (as opposed to a western European modernization) situates modernization within its own political context, and therefore creates a link between the modernization of the two eras—it is employed from within to create change in the Republic, and it can therefore also be employed within the Empire. Caution is needed when relying upon a local conception of modernism, however, so that it does not become wrapped in the same Eurocentric historiography from which it is trying to escape. Despite the tendency to look at the various ways in which modernization can be implemented, local and conceptual models of modernization can still fall into the trap of giving primacy to the West by speaking in terms of the "importation" or "appropriation" of modernizing elements.[50] This narrative plays into traditional views of the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire—that the Empire modernized due to pressure from the West and wholesale adoption of its techniques.[51]

Architectural historian Vikramaditya Prakash affirms that there is a tendency to see localized modernism as an import, "a secondary derivative construct" that "self-

consciously localizes and transformed the claimed universality of modernism." This "particularization" of the universality of modernism retains a western Eurocentric focus that claims universality from the West but the need to localize when applied elsewhere.[52] Universal modernism is "just-modernism" in the West and is therefore already localized or particularized.[53] Prakash suggests that modernism elsewhere needs to be constructed on its own terms and in its own context— "modernism claimed universality does not have to be bracketed with a nod towards an insistent localism." If instead modernism, and by association modernization, is seen as "always already local," the universality located within modernism will not exist in a homogenous application of a type or style everywhere but in a completely contextualized and locally relevant way. In other words, according to Prakash modernism is universal in its plurality and heterogeneity—what is universal is the ability to be localized.

The heterogonous localism of modernism and modernization provides a way for states to bypass "authoritarian overtones" and demonstrate progress.[54] As a universal style, the implementation of modernism provides "utopian promises for the future"[55] by seeming to maintain a neutral blank canvas that can be filled with the state's own meaning, identity, and context. Although Prakash targets his analysis toward postcolonial India, the observation holds for Turkey. Unlike India, the Turkish Republic's western roots are not denied, but then again, its relationship with western Europe is not the authority it is trying to outrun. Rather, Turkey's positioning of the Ottoman Empire as the "other" serves as the repressive, corrupt, and decaying system of oppression against which it is pushing. Modernism in the Republic is taken up because it is "not-Ottoman" or associated with the Ottoman, which is reinforced by the Republic's attempt to define itself as a complete break from the past and therefore a complete break from the historical

trajectory of modernization. Modern architecture is applied because the Republic can fill its universal shell with the meaning and expression of its choice.

Although it is clear that the nineteenth century western European-informed architecture of the Ottoman Empire is not modern architecture, it did constitute "a universal type of [architectural] discourse that was being adopted all over the world."[56] Like modernism, the neoclassical and then later neorenaissance styles making their way across Europe in the nineteenth century[57] possessed a universality in their flexibility to adjust ornamental programs to fit symbolic contextual requirements. For example, the 1910 Organization of American States building in Washington, DC uses various culturally-specific motifs in its ornamentation to represent Latin American heritage.[58] Using Prakash's concept of a local and contextual modernism, a parallel can be drawn between the purpose of modern architectural developments in the Turkish Republic and the purpose of Ottoman Tanzimat architecture. Just as the Republic used modern architecture to define a new identity and express a political agenda of modernization, so too can Tanzimat architecture be used to reinforce the Empire's commitment to modernization and reform. Under a local, contextual conceptualization of modernism and modernization, western European motifs are taken up precisely because they are not traditionally Ottoman or associated with the traditionally Ottoman; the western origins are important, but less important than their use as an architectural expression symbolic of a new era within the Empire. These motifs do not look or function like the old Topkapı Palace, for example, but signify, both internally and externally, the modernization efforts of the Empire. Linkage between the architectural expression of the late Ottoman era and the early Turkish era thus allows modernization to be treated as a long, evolutionary process that uses the built environment in politically powerful ways for both internal and external motives.

Is it intellectually sound, however, to establish a connection between architecture that is undergoing modernization and modern architecture? What, in other words, is the common root between the two? William Lim, in his characterization of an "inverted" modernism utilized by authorities to instigate social change and aid modernization, treats architecture as a process with political implications.[59] Modernism as a style is replaced with architecture as an operational force. Because it established a "relationship to social conditions," the use of modern architecture and the process through which that architecture helps with modernization go hand in hand, fitting with Prakash's notion of a completely localized and contextualized architecture. Thus buildings that do not traditionally fit the aesthetic modernist mold can fit a modernizing process; according to Lim, "buildings that do not fit stylistically into the aesthetic paradigm of modernism" can still claim modernist roots if they utilize modern construction or building techniques, modern materials, or modern planning and design principles.[60] Again, this is not to claim aesthetic modernism in the nineteenth century. However, it is entirely possible that the architecture of the Tanzimat era Ottoman Empire provides roots for a modernization process that possesses procedural parallels to twentieth century modernism.

Finally, the view of modernization as a process (and therefore the appropriateness of linking the nineteenth and twentieth centuries of Ottoman/Turkish history), is confirmed by architect and urban planning professor Rahul Mehrotra, who also believes that detaching modernism from its modernist aesthetic allows for a plurality of views and interpretations within the modern agenda. Mehrotra confirms that modernism as a total break from the past obscures the evolutionary nature of the architectural movement, which is girded by a long process of technological, societal, economic, and political advancement.[61] While it is true that the emergence of the Turkish modern aesthetic can be pinpointed to the 1920s and 1930s, such a myopic view to satisfy a political agenda fails

to put that movement into context, both in the twentieth century and in relation to the nineteenth century. In terms of historiographical advancement, such an interpretation is regressive.

In a politically biased understanding the Tanzimat era, the conventional descriptions of the Palace then make sense—it represented an "outburst of megalomania," its ornamentation "dramatic expressions of the senile frenzy of a dying Empire."[62] The same problem plays out in the broader understanding of Ottoman and Turkish architectural history. Architectural historian Sibel Bozdoğan admits that modernist reforms at the start of the Turkish Republic were "one episode in a much longer history of institutional reforms in Turkey that has tried, at least since the Tanzimat reforms, to modernize the state."[63] Her caveat, however, is to deny the Tanzimat's ability to create a "great transformation" in "society, economics, and productive forces."[64] While technically true, this interpretation is a mischaracterization at best and falls apart once its Eurocentrism and political bias is challenged; even in Europe the transformational process of modernization was evolutionary, not revolutionary. Characterizing the Turkish Republic as a complete, revolutionary break with the past in terms of its modernization denies the evolutionary history of that process and serves to codify the Ottoman Empire's status as the "other." As the edicts of the Tanzimat show, the Empire did make real efforts to modernize politically, economically, socially, and culturally.

Bozdoğan then recognizes that even the revolutionary nature of the Republic's reforms were necessarily driven from above—the implementation of an "inverted" modernism as described by Lim that treats architecture as a transformational process in society. She writes that "the recognizable symbols and exterior forms of modernity, rather than its substance, rapidly became the primary preoccupation of republican modernizers."[65] The implication, of course, is that as modernism goes so goes the society.

However, she is relying on those procedural mechanisms of modernization to do the heavy lifting; by hoping to bring society up to the standards of modernism she recognizes that modernization is a process that must be driven internally. Once agency has been given to the Republic to make that happen, it becomes impossible to deny that same agency to the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire; they, too, begin the process of modernization from above with the hope that it causes transformational effects throughout society. Denying any similarity between two processes denies the ways in which nineteenth century Ottoman architecture communicates and speaks to its political, social, economic, and cultural context. It denies the political power of architecture.

The question must be asked then, whether or not the political conceptualization of modern architecture to signify a complete break with the past is unique to modernism, or is it possible that architecture has been used in this way in the past? Bozdoğan frames the rise of modernism in terms of a response to state crisis and times of uncertainty.[66] Political transformations create an opportunity for new leaders to assert themselves, and in the case of Turkey, this assertion takes the form of architectural expression as a way to separate from the past and provide optimism about the future (as discussed by Prakash above). But is this unique? At least in the case of Turkey and the Ottoman Empire, the answer is not so clear. The modern movement possesses a difference in discourse from previous architectural movements—a utopian belief that architecture can change society for the better. Modernism presents a forward-looking dialog that puts hope and faith in a better future, its architecture a statement about what society wants to become but is not yet. In places where modern society has not yet been fully realized, modern architecture acts as an instigator for achieving aspirational goals. Modernism's language of abstraction make it universal and thus transferable across time and place, a receptacle for future identities and social progress.[67]

The problem is that this position reduces the nineteenth century Tanzimat era architecture of the Ottoman Empire to a style only, while modernism is allowed to speak in a symbolic language of meaning. Focusing specifically on the Dolmabahçe Palace, is it not possible that the structure, informed by neoclassical and neorenaissance architecture, also carries future-oriented, aspirational, and transformational meaning as a symbol of the Tanzimat? Just as modernism's blank slate allows it to be adapted to a multitude of places and contexts, the ornamentation of nineteenth century architecture provides an area rich with adaptability. Modernism as an abstracted blank slate, it is argued, means that it can be filled with any narrative; its universality means that it is not necessary to know the story of the building to understand its image. The implication is that nineteenth century architecture does require knowledge of its architectural narrative in order to be understood. The problem with this conception, however, is that it prioritizes modernism as an unchallenged object, while all other architecture plays a subjective role. Even when removing a Eurocentric frame, the narrative is biased. From study of architecture on the periphery and in light of above conceptions of modernism and modernization, it is impossible to claim that modern architecture, too, does not carry meaning and content whose understanding is time and context specific. Though the aesthetics may be vastly different, is it not a possibility that Ottoman Tanzimat architecture and the modern architecture of the Turkish Republic are working toward similar aspirational, forward-looking, and idealistic goals? The architecture of modernization may not look the same from start to finish, but as part of the same process it is expected that an active effort toward betterment of the future is a goal shared throughout.

The idealistic, utopian component of architecture can be addressed by exploring the method by which different architectures are introduced and absorbed. Esra Akcan's concept of architectural translation, the mechanism through which new architectural ideas

are spread and taken up, implies an evolution of movement from one state of being to another, a process of identification of new ideas, interpretation of those ideas, and then implementation.[68] The translational nature of architecture fits nicely with the concept of modernization to modernism as a local, contextual process because that implementation is totally endogenous to the system. Mapped onto the architecture of the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire, for example, it becomes possible to explore the translation of architectural form from its western European origins to the Ottoman Empire without marginalizing the results. Translation is thus an aspirational process, undertaken by an entity for a specific reason, rather than an exogenously imposed importation or acculturation. The visual and linguistic dialog that accompanies translation aims to establish a "pure" architectural language that captures the aspirational hope (or utopia) created where the translated and translation converge (regardless of whether that translation becomes completely absorbed in the larger architectural discourse, or it remains completely specific to its own time and place).[69] In other words, like an asymptote approaching infinity, the linguistic and visual translation that occurs when "the movement of entities from one location to another… impact the built environment"[70] may never quite touch the utopian ideals they are trying to create, but they nevertheless strive for some kind of resolution to a problem. Does this mean, then, that there is nothing special or unique about the translations that occur in modernism? No, but it does mean that not every exchange of visual or linguistic architectural ideas may be a translation.[71] The objective, therefore, is to understand the goals and purposes underlying architectural exchanges. Given the aspirational nature of architectural translation, different translations at different times and in different contexts should do so with similar purpose. If, as Akcan claims, modernization is to be understood as translation,[72] then both the modernizing era of the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire and the modern era of the Turkish Republic

must be understood as two different but related instances of architecture being used to create a symbolic, meaningful, progressive, and therefore idealistic, breaks with the past.

In order to properly understand the context of the Dolmabahçe Palace it has been first necessary to place it within a larger trajectory of Ottoman to Turkish modernization. Otherwise, it exists in historical isolation. A visit to the early twentieth century Turkish Republic shows how the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire has been constructed as an "other" and therefore marginalized in significance. Returning agency to the nineteenth century and thus understanding the significance of the Tanzimat requires a frame that values specific local context and modernization as a process—a perspective that is underscored by more recent Ottoman scholarship. The next step in this study is to explore the Dolmabahçe Palace itself. Having examined how translations inform architecture, it is now necessarily to examine the idea of architectural translation with respect to the Dolmabahçe Palace. Only then is it possible to understand how and why the Palace speaks to its time.

Notes

[1] See Bülent Özdemir, *Ottoman Reforms and Social Life: Reflections from Salonica 1830-1850* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2010) for a discussion of previous and current historiography of the late Ottoman Empire.

[2] See T. Ahmet Sensilay, *Dolmabahçe Palace* (Istanbul: Duru Basim Yayin Reklamcilik ve Gida San. Tic. Ltd. Sti., 2007), 22-25; İhsan Yücel, Sema Öner, et al., *Dolmabahçe Palace* (Istanbul: GNAT National Palaces, 2012), 15; Çelik Gülersoy, *Dolmabahçe Palace and Its Environs* (Istanbul: Istanbul Kitapligi Ltd, 1990), 174; and, Ugur Tanyeli, "History of Ottoman Architecture and the Historiographical Model of Decline and Fall," in Nur Akin, Afife Batur, and Selcuk Batur, eds. *Seven Centuries of Ottoman Architecture: A Supra-National Heritage* (Istanbul: Yapi-Endustri Merkezi Publications, 2000).

[3] See Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream: The Story of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1923* (New York: Basic Books, 2006), 339-346 and 438-443.

[4] M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 73-74 and Frank Edgar Bailey, *British Policy and the Turkish Reform Movement: A Study in Anglo-Turkish Relations 1826-1853* (New York: Howard Fertig, Inc, 1970), 448.

[5] Hanioğlu, *Brief History*, 73.

[6] Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 450.

[7] Ahmad, *Modern Turkey*, 25.

[8] Hanioğlu, *Brief History*, 74.

[9] Virginia Aksan and Daniel Goffman, eds., *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 168.

[10] Özdemir, *Ottoman Reforms and Social Life*, 23.

[11] Özdemir, *Ottoman Reforms and Social Life*, 28-29.

[12] Özdemir, *Ottoman Reforms and Social Life*, 23.

[13] Özdemir, *Ottoman Reforms and Social Life*, 23-25.

[14] Özdemir, *Ottoman Reforms and Social Life*, 24.

[15] See note 4.

[16] Finkel, *Osman's Dream*, 448.

[17] Özdemir, *Ottoman Reforms and Social Life*, 39.

[18] Özdemir, *Ottoman Reforms and Social Life*, 39.

[19] Bailey, *British Policy*, 38 and 192-193.

[20] Özdemir, *Ottoman Reforms and Social Life*, 49.

[21] See, for example, Edward Said, *Introduction to Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978).

[22] See Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1896).

[23] Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul,* 49.

[24] Doğan Kuban, *Istanbul: An Urban History* (Istanbul: Turkiye Bankasi Kultur Yaninlari, 2010), 458.

[25] Kuban, *Istanbul: An Urban History*, 458.

[26] Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul,* 50.

[27] Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul,* 51.

[28] Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul,* 49-50.

[29] Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul,* 57.

[30] Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul,* 58.

[31] Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul,* 78-79.

[32] Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul,* 79-80.

[33] Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul,* 79-80.

[34] Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul,* 49.

[35] Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul,* 59.

[36] Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul,* 59.

[37] Doğan Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, LTD, 2010), 527-528. See also pages 277-280.

[38] Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 555.

[39] Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 527.

[40] Barry Bergdoll, *European Architecture: 1750-1890* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 259.

[41] Bergdoll, *European Architecture,* 266-267.

[42] Bergdoll, *European Architecture,* 267.

[43] Ahmad, *Modern Turkey*, 3.

[44] Ugur Tanyeli, "History of Ottoman Architecture and the Historiographical Model of Decline and Fall," in Nur Akin, Afife Batur, and Selcuk Batur, eds. *Seven Centuries of Ottoman Architecture: A Supra-National Heritage* (Istanbul: Yapi-Endustri Merkezi Publications, 2000), 43.

[45] Tanyeli, "History of Ottoman Architecture," 44-47.

[46] See Tanyeli, "History of Ottoman Architecture," 43-44.

[47] Tanyeli, "History of Ottoman Architecture," 45.

[48] See Esra Akcan, *Architecture in Translation: Germany, Turkey, and the Modern House* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012) or Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001).

[49] Tanyeli, "History of Ottoman Architecture," 47-48.

[50] Baki Tezcan and Karl K. Barbir, eds. *Identity and Identity Formation in the Ottoman World: A Volume of Essays in Honor of Norman Itzkowitz* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2007), 167.

[51] Baki Tezcan and Karl K. Barbir, eds. *Identity and Identity Formation*, 167.

[52] Vikramaditya Prakash, "Third World Modernism or Just Modernism: Towards a Cosmopolitan Reading of Modernism," in *Third World Modernism* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 265.

[53] Prakash, "Third World Modernism," 266.

[54] Prakash, "Third World Modernism," 262.

[55] Prakash, "Third World Modernism," 263.

[56] Cengiz Can, "Tanzimat and Architecture," in Nur Akin, Afife Batur, and Selcuk Batur, eds. *Seven Centuries of Ottoman Architecture,* 136.

[57] Roth, *Understanding Architecture: Its Elements, History, and Meaning* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2007), 472-484.

[58] Course "Peripheral Historiographies" with Professor Fernando Lara, University of Texas at Austin, School of Architecture, Fall 2012, and Organization of American States, "Main Building," http://www.oas.org/columbus/oasmainbuilding.asp, accessed November 3, 2012.

[59] William Lim, "Rethinking Modernisms and Modernities Beyond the West," in *Non Western Modernist Past* (Singapore: World Scientific Pub., 2012), 19.

[60] Lim, "Rethinking Modernisms," 12.

[61] Rahul Mehrotra, "Simultaneous Modernities: Contemporary Architecture in India," in *Non Western Modernist Past* (Singapore: World Scientific Pub., 2012).

[62] Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 620 and 621.

[63] Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, 56.

[64] Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, 56.

[65] Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, 57.

[66] Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, 5-6.

[67] Course "Peripheral Historiographies" with Professor Fernando Lara, University of Texas at Austin, School of Architecture, Fall 2012, November 1, 2012.

[68] See Akcan, *Architecture in Translation,* 6-7.

[69] See Akcan, *Architecture in Translation*, 13.

[70] Akcan, *Architecture in Translation*, 7.

[71] Thus it should be possible to distinguish between assimilations, acculturations, importations and translations based upon the purpose and mechanisms of transference. It

will be argued that for a translation to occur, architectural shifts must come about through an internal and aspirational process.

[72] Akcan, *Architecture in Translation*, 21.

The Language of the Dolmabahçe Palace

The Dolmabahçe Palace represents a translation of architectural ideas, a synthesis of influences that capture and project the aspirational nature of the Tanzimat. As discussed above, architectural translations represent an idealistic expression of intent, occurring as a deliberate effort to break with the past. The translation is thus used to create a new form of architectural expression that captures a new order. Translations are therefore related to the notion implicit within Ernst Gombrich's *The Sense of Order* that ornamentation provides an ordering effect, with the concomitant implication that shifts in ornamental pattern language occur when there is a break with the past and a need for a new, stabilizing order.[1] Like changes in ornamental pattern language, architectural translations signal a shift in social, cultural, political, or economic conditions and represent the desire to communicate those shifts.

The concept of architectural translation embodies three parts: the process of identification of new ideas, the interpretation of those ideas, and then the implementation of new architectural forms. This section will locate the development and architecture of the Dolmabahçe Palace within these three parts. In order to demonstrate the identification of new ideas to be used for translation, it will first be necessary to establish that the Dolmabahçe Palace did not emerge on its own, but was part of a larger trajectory of incorporation and assimilation of various western European architectural styles. Recognizing the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries' western European architectural context is crucial, because it demonstrates the existence of a choice to either copy/assimilate or translate the architectural form language of the Dolmabahçe Palace. To establish architectural translation, however, it must next be shown that the palace was not solely copied from western European forms. Additionally, it will be necessary to

show that the palace was not an ill-informed showpiece for western Europe or the result of a frivolous sultan. In other words, meaning and intent behind the creation of the Dolmabahçe Palace must be established for an architectural translation to be possible. Relying on building description and then analysis of the palace, it will become apparent that the palace interpreted the ideas of its architectural context and was situated in a climate ripe for translation. Finally, the implementation of that translation will be explored, utilizing the concept that buildings can communicate specific messages about political, economic, social, or cultural context. Relying upon the architectural language of history presented by Anthony Alofsin, the aspirational intent of the Dolmabahçe Palace to demonstrate the principles of the Tanzimat and serve as an artifact of its promotion will be uncovered.

THE DOLMABAHÇE PALACE'S ARCHITECTURAL CONTEXT IN ISTANBUL

The Dolmabahçe Palace was not built in a vacuum, and it was neither the only nor the first European-influenced structure in Istanbul. To understand the origins of the Dolmabahçe Palace and the language that it speaks, it is first necessary to explore its architectural context. European architectural traditions began to appear in the Ottoman context in the early eighteenth century, with the introduction of French Baroque and Rococo during the Tulip Era.[2] Military architecture of the eighteenth century and palace architecture of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries took a different direction, introducing monumental neoclassical and neorenaissance styles to the cityscape.[3] Foreign embassies of the nineteenth century directly impacted the overall architectural direction of the city, while European architects actively built for both the Ottoman government and private citizens. Each one of the structures explored in this section provides evidence of a

material, cultural, and symbolic architectural nexus upon which the Dolmabahçe Palace could draw, resulting in a synthesis of ornamental language and architectural form.

The Fountain of Ahmed III, located in front of the Topkapı Palace, is an early example of a translated hybrid architectural style (fig. 2).[4] The eighteenth century structure demonstrates, through ornamentation, the increasingly intertwined relationship between the Ottoman Empire and the rest of Europe. It is typically described as Turkish Rococo, characterized first by its highly plastic form.[5] The broad eaves typical of Ottoman architecture found in the Topkapı Palace project boldly from the side of the building. Instead of a traditional linear form, however, the eaves are curved and rounded as they encircle the building in baroque fashion. The curving eaves complement and accentuate the rounded corners of the Fountain, and together create a high degree of three-dimensionality and sense of movement in the structure. The minimally ornamented eaves of the Topkapı Palace are replaced at the Fountain by undulating and latticed vegetal forms reminiscent of the floral and vegetal motifs adorning the walls of the Palace of Versailles, but also reminiscent of the intricate floral Iznik tiles traditional to classical Ottoman architecture. The ornamentation found in the white marble revetment cladding the structure also demonstrates the synthesis of Ottoman and European motifs.[6] Gilded vegetal arabesques, highly articulated palmettes, and an egg-and-dart border connect the eaves to the walls. Horizontal banding contains interlacing arabesque floral forms, supported underneath by rows of muqarnas. Delicate vegetal tendrils in a Rococo double-S form,[7] as well as rosettes and motifs of S and C curves, dance across the facade. This same pattern is continued around three sides of the structure as a border for other elements, coming back up and back around to encapsulate traditional Ottoman interlacing motifs and gilded Arabic calligraphy. European-inspired fruit trees in vases[8] ornament niches beneath red and white banded Islamic arches.

The Rococo style found in the Fountain of Ahmed III "introduc[ed] to Istanbul a city-wide ornamental dynamism that was to persist in succeeding periods."[9] European ornamental form language was further integrated into Ottoman architectural culture through the application of Baroque motifs, "displaying the innovative and creative potential of eighteenth century Ottoman culture."[10] Completed in 1755, the Nuruosmaniye Mosque demonstrates this further internalization of western European forms (fig. 3). According to Doğan Kuban, the mosque abandoned traditional Ottoman forms by changing the shape of the courtyard from a rectangle to a "long truncated ellipse."[11] It also

> set a Baroque stamp on the urban center as a symbol of the new Ottoman culture… [T]he curvilinear composition of the large entrance complex [exhibited] a sculptural plasticity that… constituted a turning point in the history of Ottoman architecture. The old muqarnas decoration was replaced on the courtyard portals by bands consisting of a variety of Baroque mouldings rising one above the other and surmounted by acanthus leaves and other plant motifs.[12]

Military reform became a key feature of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, which played out in new architectural forms. The slow wresting of power from the Ottoman Janissaries toward a more western European-style army became a main instigator of the next architectural typology translated into an Ottoman context: the military barracks. Located primarily in the Dolmabahçe area,[13] the large neoclassical structures became the "first elements of the new urbanscape" of Istanbul.[14] For example, the Selimiye Barracks, constructed entirely of stone from 1825 to 1828 and repaired as needed by Sultans Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz, dominates the Istanbul coastline behind the Haydarpaşa Harbor on the Asian side.[15] A demonstration of the European concept of size and monumentality,[16] the barracks represent a restrained Neoclassicism and "have no relationship with local models."[17] The minimally adorned fenestration, grouped into rhythms of three, ring the entire building, while a small triangular pediment crowns each

of the entrance portals. The architect, Krikor Balian, added Neo-Renaissance towers to each of the corners sometime in the 1840s.[18] The Kuleli Cavalry Barracks also demonstrate monumentality and restraint (fig. 4). The Neo-Renaissance structure follows barracks typology, with large wings containing an interior courtyard.[19] It features a prominent temple front with double columns, rusticated stonework, and a triangular pediment containing the sultan's Tuğra seal and coat of arms. Both the original structure and its first reconstruction were destroyed by fire, but the stone building that exists today, completed in 1863, is an almost exact replica of the original. The Ottoman *yali*-style main entrance was replaced by the temple front, but the two towers bookending the building are features of the original. Described as Baroque in style,[20] their pointed, conical form could also reference the two-towered gates of the Topkapı Palace, the Divan Tower at the Topkapı Palace,[21] or the Galata Tower in Pera.[22]

Palace complexes also demonstrate the use of western European forms in Ottoman architectural traditions. The Dolmabahçe Palace was not the first palace complex on or near the Beşiktaş site. The first palace, constructed by Selim III,[23] consisted of an assemblage of separate pavilion units, much like the Topkapı Palace. Mehmed IV added a large tiled pavilion in 1679, its multiple domes and wide, projecting eaves dominating the site until its destruction to make way for the current Dolmabahçe Palace in 1842.[24] By the time of Mahmud II, however, palace architecture had evolved to a more monumental scale. The Çırağan Palace, constructed from wood by architect Garabed Balian in 1830, was "the first great palace in the European style to be built on the shores of the Bosphorus."[25] The structure, made up of three units or blocks, exhibits a Neoclassical style, with a Corinthian temple front entrance on the main unit and Doric colonnades surrounding the two flanking units (fig. 5).[26] Based on descriptions at the

time, it was painted white with gilded railings and featured "chimneys in the form of Doric columns."[27] The complex was demolished by Adbulmecid in 1855.[28]

Finally, European architects played a direct role in the architectural context of nineteenth century Istanbul, building both foreign embassies and works for the Ottoman government. Three architects were particularly influential during this period: British architect William James Smith and Italian brothers Gaspare and Guiseppe Fossati. Smith constructed the British Embassy in 1845, modifying plans previously drawn by Sir Charles Barry.[29] Located in the Pera neighborhood,[30] the British Embassy exhibits a Neo-Renaissance façade with simple but clearly articulated geometric shapes above the windows, rustication on the lower floor, and quoins of alternating sizes on each of the corners (fig. 6). Smith was also responsible for completing the Selimiye Barracks reconstruction begun by Krikor Balian in 1848,[31] as well as designing the Tophane Pavilion for Sultan Abdülmecid in 1853. The two story pavilion, in a Venetian Neo-Renaissance style, features "a central projection resting on large classical consoles, [which are] enlivened by continuous rows of arched windows on each floor."[32]

The Fossati Brothers also constructed in the Neo-Renaissance style, building the first stone and brick residence on the Bosphorus. Completed for Mustafa Reşit Paşa, the administrator behind the Tanzimat, this neorenaissance waterfront structure at Baltalimanı "signal[ed] architectural change."[33] The Fossati Brothers also worked for Sultan Abdülmecid, who tasked the architects with restoring the Hagia Sophia and construction of the first university of Istanbul.[34] The Neo-Renaissance university building featured a temple-front with Ionic columns that continued down the sides of the building, creating an "Ionic colonnade in the center of the façade."[35] Most importantly, however, the Fossatis were responsible for the Neo-Renaissance Russian Embassy completed in 1839 (fig. 7).[36] As an early Tanzimat building, its construction was watched carefully by

Ottoman government officials. They would frequently visit the site, citing it as an example of progress in the Empire.[37]

Thus Istanbul's architectural climate of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries set the stage for the construction of the Dolmabahçe Palace. Each one of these buildings finds some resonance with the palace, either through direct incorporation of architectural form language or as part of a larger process of identity formation. But analysis of context alone does not satisfy the question of whether or not the palace represents a copying of these western European-flavored structures. In other words, is the Dolmabahçe Palace an assimilation or amalgamation of the various architectural forms and influences swirling around Istanbul at the time, or is it a translation of styles meant to communicate something meaningful? The answer first depends on a brief building description; to understand what the Dolmabahçe Palace is, it is imperative to understand what it is not.

BUILDING DESCRIPTION OF THE DOLMABAHÇE PALACE

The Dolmabahçe Palace, constructed from 1842 to 1856,[38] stretches along the Bosphorus in the Beşiktaş area of the Pera district, its 300-meter long main façade[39] facing the water. It is accessed through two main land entrances or five waterside entrances.[40] The structure consists of three main sections—the Administrative Chambers, the Ceremony Hall, and the Imperial Harem (private residence). Visitors approaching from the sea are immediately confronted with the monumental Ceremony Hall, which towers more than a full story over left and right radiating wings (fig. 8). Each wing maintains a symmetrical façade, making the entire waterfront bilaterally symmetrical; the span is articulated by a series of undulating bays that defer to the grandiosity of the Ceremony Hall where the two parts join (fig. 9). That the Ceremony Hall is the primary focal point of the complex is clear not only by its placement within the building and its

visual weight compared to the other components, but also by the complex program concealed within the interior. When facing the Ceremony Hall, the left-side wing houses the administrative functions of the palace, while the right-side wing contains the living quarters—the Ceremony Hall thus serving as the physical divide between public and private. The harem section continues off of the front façade in a wing attached perpendicularly to the right façade. Thus the building plan as a whole is not symmetrical, but rather designed out of functional need (fig. 10). All parts of the structure are contained under one roof, unlike the Topkapı Palace and earlier Bosphorus palaces, for a total floorspace area of 45,000 square meters.[41]

It is difficult to classify the Dolmabahçe Palace by architectural style. While the overall exterior style could be considered Italian Neo-Renaissance, it maintains characteristics of various styles, including the Ecole des Beaux-Arts,[42] French Empire,[43] and the Baroque. The palace also features traditional Ottoman elements, references to Neoclassicism, and Neo-Gothic details. Its architectural lineage confounded observers even at the time of its construction: "It is difficult to identify a particular architectural style. The palace is neither Greek, nor Roman, Gothic, Renaissance nor Arabesque, nor is it [Ottoman]. The obsessively-worked detail of intricate decoration and ornamentation recall that of a Spanish monument in the so-called [Plateresque] style."[44]

The palace features three neoclassically inspired temple-front facades with double-height columns—two anchoring each wing facing the Bosphorus and one serving as the main entrance to the Administrative Chambers, perpendicular to the sea and facing the main entrance gate (fig. 11). Both the lower level Ionic and upper level Corinthian columns are stylized in a Baroque manner, with curved and highly articulated capitals. The volutes of the Ionic columns are formed from vegetal tendrils spiraling inward, and the columns' banded bases are ornate. Squared Corinthian pilasters shadow the columns

on the upper level and define the space between each of the rounded windows. The lower architrave is articulated with banding, while the lower frieze is elaborately carved with laurel-leaf festoons, curving and swirling vegetal forms, ribbons, and stylized flowers (fig. 12). The top band of the frieze features interlocking coils that play off of the Neo-Gothic tracery screen on the balcony (fig. 13). The upper frieze utilizes a different motif, as vegetal tendrils form a C-curve around folded acanthus leaves. A row of dentils divides the frieze from the cornice of the pediment, which is supported by double acanthus or palmette brackets. The tympanum of the pediment features a highly articulated series of plastic wreaths, acanthus leaves, rosettes, C- and S-curves framing the Tuğra of Sultan Abdülmecid. These same motifs are repeated along the rest of the façade, forming bands of Baroque, Rococo, Renaissance, and Gothic ornamentation that cover every surface and contrast with the rigid linearity of the building's rusticated stone base (fig. 14).

The architecture of the Ceremony Hall takes the language of the two flanking wings and amplifies it (fig. 15). Every surface is covered with or incorporates Baroque, Rococo, or Renaissance detailing, although the ornamentation is thicker and more plastic than that of the administrative or harem wings. The façade is composed of seven bays, the middle three articulated by double-height, double-Corinthian columns with heavily styled capitals. The two bays on each end are set apart with double-height double-Corinthian pilasters. The lower level features a series of rounded fenestration, the arches supported by Ionic columns with acanthus leaf detailing below the capitals. The frieze above these window columns repeats a stylized pattern of shell and flower forms, and its cornice serves as the terminating point for the floral and vegetal forms ringing the window arch. Above the rounded windows, lush, highly articulate floral and vegetal forms are contained within scroll-bordered bounding boxes. The center of each one of

these contained forms features an octagonal cartouche framing a thick, leafy vegetal motif. The whole design appears as if it could peel off the façade. A repeating string of acanthus leaves, in both profile and frontal form, defines the top of the lower level. An ornamented and articulate cornice line separates the lower and upper level, along with a planar, orthogonally and geometrically styled platform for the columns on the second level. The restrained and austere details on this platform layer contrast starkly with the highly dimensional and plastic forms found elsewhere on the front façade (fig. 16).

Moving upward to the second level, each of the bays contains a set of rounded double windows, divided in the center by a slender column with a highly stylized Corinthian capital. The same capital motif is repeated on a larger scale the two pilasters flanking each pair of windows. The space above each window is completely covered in thick, highly dimensional vegetal and swirling ornamental forms, and a series of leafy brackets and flowers support a rounded broken pediment. Five of the seven bays feature the same rounded pediment form, broken in the middle by a flowery vegetal cartouche supported by two upright acanthus brackets ornamented with an egg-and-dart pattern. Bays two and six differ, however. These bays feature a rounded façade element below each set of windows, and the broken pediments scroll inward to form a frame for a bulbous, ornate urn and floral festoon. This façade element is reminiscent of the pediments found on Michelangelo's Porta Pia in Rome.

Michelanglo also appears to be referenced at the entrance to the Ceremony Hall. The entry stairs pour out of the palace to meet the sea in a form similar to the Saint Laurentian Library in Florence (fig. 17). The stair is compressed on each side by a platform flush with the first level of the palace before spreading out to meet the ground. These platforms feature the same roundel ornament found at the top of the Ceremony Hall. The roundels contain a circle of acanthus leaves supported by a garland of ribbons,

roses, and laurel branches. The whole motif is bracketed by stylized flower and leaf forms, topped with curving shells. Overall, the surface of the Ceremony Hall is much less planar than the two side wings, and the depth of the relief is emphasized by the creation of shadows along the surface.

The Ceremony Hall and the Bosphorus façade contrast markedly with the living quarters (fig. 18). An abrupt style change occurs as soon as the corner is turned toward the perpendicular harem wing. The pink façade is devoid of almost all ornamentation, with the exception of plain pilasters articulating protruding corners and banding definition at the top of each level. Upper and lower fenestration is regular and repeated, a curve in the lower windows the only deviation from an otherwise completely orthogonal façade. This same plain architectural language is repeated on the backside of the Ceremony Hall, which is visible from the private harem area. However, it does contain some ornamentation (fig. 19). The façade features crisp, linear ornament that emphasizes geometric regularity and rationality. It is the complete opposite of the ornamentation found on the front façade, a flat abstraction in geometry of the three dimensional patterns and shapes presented on the front of the building. The back façade of the Ceremony Hall also differs from the architecture of the front with the inclusion of two large engaged buttresses defining the center of the façade and capped by Baroque stone pinnacles (fig. 20).

EXPOSING MISPERCEPTIONS IN INTERPRETATION

As discussed previously, the standard narrative of the Dolmabahçe Palace is that it represents an attempt to merely copy European architecture, that it serves as an artifact portraying Ottoman strength to the West at a time of imperial decline, or that it is a frivolous endeavor of a weak leader.[45] All three explanations revolved around a

Eurocentric notion of westernization, and are part of the same interpretation of the Tanzimat era that places agency and change outside of the Empire. As has already been shown, however, the Empire's efforts at reform were part of a long process of internally driven modernization. Thus any understanding of the Dolmabahçe Palace that places its meaning and interpretation solely in the hands of western Europe must be immediately suspect. The underlying question, then, is whether or not the palace exhibits architectural translation—a meaningful and aspirational interpretation of the architectural context of its time. In order to demonstrate that the Dolmabahçe Palace is the result of a translation based upon its eighteenth and nineteenth century architectural context, it must first be shown that the palace is not a result of merely copying western European architecture. To demonstrate that a translation is indeed occurring, evidence of continued Ottoman traditions, specific ornamentation of the palace, and its relationship to the larger western architectural context will be discussed.

It will first be argued that the palace was a poor symbolic choice if the main goal and purpose of the structure was to convey the strength of the Empire to western Europe. Next, it will be argued that Ottoman elements maintained at the palace indicate the lack of desire for complete imitation and assimilation into western Europe. Furthermore, the eclectic nature of the palace was a deliberate design choice found nowhere else at the time, while the timeline of other significant architectural structures supports the notion that the palace was not born of imitation. The design process and evidence of architectural planning will then be discussed, to counter the assertion that multiple artisans working on the palace meant that it must lack cohesion or vision and in order to demonstrate that the palace was the result of deliberate choices. Finally, the assertion that the palace can be reduced to capriciousness will be explored. It will be argued that Sultan Abdülmecid was well aware of the power of architecture and deliberately used

architecture as part of his governing strategy. It then becomes clear that the palace emerged from the Ottoman Empire's own internal agency and as a result of its own architectural endeavors; the unequivocal conclusion, then, is that the Dolmabahçe Palace represents a translation of architectural sources into a sum greater than its parts.

The starting point to understanding the narrative of translation is the exploration of the Dolmabahçe Palace as neither simply an attempt to show western Europe a superficially powerful Ottoman Empire, nor a copy of western European architecture based upon the whims of a capricious leader. Even the most cursory analysis reveals that many traditional Ottoman elements were maintained within Palace protocol. While Sultan Abdülmecid dressed in uniforms resembling those of Austrian Emperor Franz Joseph I,[46] he retained the Ottoman fez and feather established by his father, Mahmud II.[47] Additionally, the palace continued to rely on the traditional Ottoman *caique* as the mode of transportation delivering visiting dignitaries to the palace, even into the twentieth century.[48] Use of the seaside ceremonial entrance forced visitors to confront the total span of Ottoman history as they passed by the Hagia Sophia and Topkapı Palace upon approach (fig. 21).[49] While this was certainly a symbolic display of Ottoman power, the use of the palace itself a tool to dispel fears of decline makes little historical sense. Europe was well aware of the Empire's struggles, as the Empire found itself in the position of needing to borrow money during the Crimean War.[50] Furthermore, as discussed previously, western Europe was aware of the Tanzimat and the Empire's internal drive to stabilize, and the Treaty of Paris ending the Crimean conflict secured the Ottoman Empire's seat at the European table.

Analysis also clearly shows that the palace retained significant Ottoman elements and possessed other architectural features without precedent in western Europe. The eclecticism displayed on the façade and the unique plan[51] are seemingly at odds with the

notion that the palace was a mere copy of western European architecture and design. The palace is thus superficially European, but deviates significantly in plan and scope. Alignment around the Bosphorus and topography of the site dictate the complex layout more than any principle of symmetry or axiality. The main Ceremony Hall anchors the structure, serving as the "unifying element for the rest of building yet at the same time [boasting] its own autonomy and dissimilarity."[52] Facades that seem to have classical proportions are betrayed by overlaying roof structures and sections that "seem to relate to two different plans."[53] These inconsistencies with a traditional western European approach reveal the palace's concern with the arrangement of sections "according to Ottoman protocol"[54] rather than a European model. Furthermore, the arraying of each interior section around central hall-like[55] main rooms is modeled after traditional Ottoman housing.[56] It becomes most apparent when examining each of the three sections separately; they were clearly designed as discrete units "applied on a large scale."[57]

Most significantly, however, the Dolmabahçe Palace blends disparate architectural traditions into one singular and representative Ottoman motif—an eclectic architectural form language of unification and what Pars Tuğlacı believes is one of the very first examples of the nineteenth century historicist style:

> [The Ceremony Hall] is a composition which does not comply with classical norms. For instance the cruciform roof plan seems linked to Eastern Christian and Mediterranean cultures, while the composite style of the column capitals and cornices is reminiscent of 18th century French architecture; the great dome and its transitional elements relate to the Ottoman model, while the high domed corner rooms have an Armenian flavour. All the domes are embellished with illusory neo-baroque decoration. In this respect [the Ceremony Hall] is probably the first major implementation of the historicist concept, which looks on the historical legacy as a catalogue of themes to be dawn upon at will.[58]

Indeed, upon closer examination of the Ceremony Hall it becomes apparent that the façade provides a false impression of width. Viewed from above or behind, two wing

protrude out at the sides but do not continue along the depth of the structure. The result looks very much like the westwerk front of a cathedral. The plan of the great room is also cruciform in shape. And although there is always danger in putting too much emphasis on purely visual comparisons, the dome of the Ceremony Hall could be interpreted as a reference to more traditional Ottoman mosque forms (or the Hagia Sophia).

Although heavily ornamented in elaborate baroque design, the interior architecture itself is more conservative than its Baroque ornamentation might suggest. The regularly shaped pendentives meet on a square base, the rigidity of the orthogonality contrasting markedly from the scrolling, curving, and swirling vegetal and floral motifs painted onto every surface. The orderly dome exhibits none of the Baroque plasticity or variation in shape, and the Baroque ornamentation does not intrude on the lines of the arcuated forms. Additionally, the dome has no windows, but instead relies on *trompe l'oeil* to create an illusion of light and space beyond the architecture.

Furthermore, the ornamentation found in the corner rooms does appear to reference Armenian design, and Tuğlacı notes that the names of the Armenian artisans who completed the detailing can still be found on one of the vaults in the upper gallery.[59] The rigidity of the rotated square pattern on the arches leading into the side rooms and the long, straight diamond shapes in the domes of the side rooms contrast markedly with the organic forms elsewhere in the interior. The color scheme shifts as well, from bright, playful colors to richer and darker blocks of tone (fig. 22). Similar patterns and colors can be found in the interiors of Armenian cathedrals. For example, pendentives at the Etchmiadzin Armenian Cathedral in Armenia are shaped in the form of the same long diamond pattern found at the Dolmabahçe Palace. Additionally, the interior is covered in those same rich but darkened shades of yellow, red, and green. The interior ornamentation as a whole has a much more geometric feel to it, and exhibits a clear

bilateral symmetry not found in the Baroque ornamentation of the Ceremony Hall. The Armenian Vank Cathedral in Iran, built in the seventeenth century, exhibits similar ornamental characteristics.

Doğan Kuban echoes Tuğlacı's conclusions, stating that it is "impossible to find in the façade of the Ceremony Hall…the stylistic consistency characteristic of a European palace,"[60] and that European architects never "employed various different styles in the same building."[61] Analysis of the Paris Opera House and nineteenth century additions to the Louvre Palace illustrate his point. The Paris Opera House features arched openings on the lower floor, with wreathed roundels on the façade between the arches. Double Corinthian columns articulate the exterior of the *piano nobile*, while smaller gilded Corinthian columns set back from the façade define balconies. Round openings containing a finials and wreath bunches ornament the space above the balconies. The Opera House also features two protruding wings that are accented with rounded pediments. Banding on the top of the structure features text and vegetal swag patterns, and the building is crowned with gilded sculpture and a squat copper dome. The dome, and its copper sculpture at the top, obscure the triangular pediment form that covers the stage area.

Its ornament speaks a different language than the Dolmabahçe Palace, however. The Paris Opera House relies upon sculpture and high relief sculptural forms rather than the low relief patterns found on the Dolmabahçe Palace. This gives the Opera House a much more plastic feel, and the sculptures dominate the façade. It also gives the impression that its ornament is applied rather than made integral to the structure. In other words, the Dolmabahçe Palace itself serves as an ornamental object through the multitude of low relief patterns applied directly to the exterior. Additionally, the sculptural program of the Paris Opera House makes up the bulk of the ornamentation. The building façade is

given room to breath between ornamental elements. On the Dolmabahçe Palace's Ceremony Hall, in contrast, each ornamental feature seems to blur into the next, bounded only by changes in architectural elements or the plane of the façade. And while the Dolmabahçe Palace also features rounded fenestration and the double Corinthian column configuration pulled from the front of the façade, it possesses a more complicated mix of architectural forms. The Paris Opera House, in other words, does not feature anything like the Dolmabahçe Palace's mix of temple-front forms with Neo-Renaissance, Baroque, and Neo-Gothic detailing. As Kuban concludes, while the Dolmabahçe Palace can be stylistically compared to the Paris Opera House, and although the Opera House shares a similar Baroque form language, it "does not even approach the eclecticism of Dolmabahçe."[62]

The new addition to the Louvre does not possess the degree of variation and level of ornamentation seen on the Dolmabahçe Palace, either. The Louvre addition displays the same double Corinthian column motifs on its main façade fronts and also utilizes rounded fenestration, but the ornamental program is more restrained than both the Dolmabahçe Palace or the Paris Opera House, with the exception of the sculptural program found on the protruding portions of the façade. Otherwise, the building plane between the larger façade elements displays a simplified Neo-Renaissance form language. The entire ornamental program of the building relies completely upon freestanding sculpture, with the exception of thick, heavy vegetal forms in the spaces around and above the lower fenestration. When these motifs are compared to the Dolmabahçe Palace, it becomes clear that the Dolmabahçe Palace references the Rococo within its ornamentation, maintaining a lightness missing in both the Paris Opera House and the Louvre. Rather than hanging heavily off the Palace or obscuring architectural

features, the low relief forms of the Dolmabahçe dance and swirl across the building surface with thinner vegetal tendrils, shell-like motifs, cartouches, and urns.[63]

The Paris Opera House and Louvre Palace additions can also be examined chronologically to support the claim that the Dolmabahçe Palace was not a mere attempt to copy western European architecture. The Paris Opera House was built from 1861 to 1875, [64] while the additional to the Louvre underwent construction from 1852 to 1857.[65] In other words, the Opera House was completed after the Dolmabahçe Palace, and the Louvre was exactly contemporary to the Dolmabahçe Palace. Timeline bias—the tendency to reference the Opera House first when discussing the Dolmabahçe Palace—has persisted since the nineteenth century. For example, when describing the Dolmabahçe Palace it is often noted that the interior was completed by the same designer of the Paris Opera House interiors,[66] and that the Dolmabahçe Palace resembles the Parisian structure.[67] French writer Theophile Gautier visited the Dolmabahçe Palace in 1854 and later wrote about his experiences. Even though he would have seen the Dolmabahçe Palace's interior first, he referred to it through the lens of the Paris Opera House, writing that the interior contained work by the "famous decorator of the Paris opera."[68] More recently, historian Godfrey Goodwin concluded that while the Dolmabahçe Palace possesses "the exuberance of Garnier's Opera in Paris," it "lacks the unity and force of that masterpiece."[69] In other words, the Paris Opera House is prized as the western European archetype against which the Dolmabahçe Palace is judged, although the palace clearly precedes the Parisian structure.

Finally, one variation on the belief that the palace represents a mere copy of western European architecture cites the fact that artisans from a variety of backgrounds and countries worked on the structure. In this narrative, the eclectic ornamentation is attributed to western European-oriented or western European-trained painters, sculptors,

and designers who contributed their craft in pure importation, without much consideration for overall plan or design.[70] Drawings from Nigoğos Balian, one of the Dolmabahçe Palace architects, reveal this to be incorrect. His building facades are clearly detailed with ornamentation and they demonstrate careful consideration and exploration of ornamental forms. A cross-section design for one of the Çırağan Palace rooms is elaborately detailed, indicating that the architects controlled at least some of the interior ornamentation.[71] Furthermore, Nigoğos painted elaborate, detailed images of multiple interior spaces for the Çırağan Palace.[72]

Anecdotal evidence supports the conventional interpretation of the Dolmabahçe Palace as a result of the Sultan's frivolity, and that this interpretation holds weight in contemporary Turkish consciousness.[73] One tour guide, during a recent visit to the palace, emphasized that the Empire had to borrow money from Europe this during this time, with the implication that the Palace was a waste of resources done at the personal whim of the Sultan.[74] A similar sentiment was expressed by a 65 year old Turkish woman during a conversation about the palace. Without any promoting or leading, the retired chemical engineer revealed that she learned in school that the palace was bad because it was a waste of money at a time when the Empire was in decline and people were struggling.[75] Sultan Abdülmecid was conscious of appearances, however, and aware that the palace may have been seen by some as frivolous. He remarked that it was too extravagant and that it should not have been so elaborate.[76] This humility, whether earnest or feigned, was reinforced by the Sultan's decision to delay the opening of the palace until the resolution of the Crimean War.[77]

That Abdülmecid was aware that the palace might be interpreted as frivolous should not be confused with the palace being undertaken for frivolous purposes. The Sultan was very aware of the power of architecture to communicate with western Europe,

and he used restoration of the Hagia Sophia for symbolic political ends. Abdülmecid commenced restoration with the Fossatis, the Italian architects building in Istanbul at the time,[78] and he wanted to make it the symbol of his reign. He was well aware that the structure resonated with the world beyond the borders of the Empire, and the Sultan used the symbolism of restoration to address his domestic Christian constituency as a sign of goodwill. The restoration also demonstrated to Europe that the Empire was interested in preserving its Christian heritage, which was important because of pressures placed upon the Empire by the West regarding treatment of Ottoman Christians.[79] Furthermore, the Hagia Sophia represented a reminder of Ottoman strength in the form of reference to the conquest of Constantinople. In fact, the Empire had a tradition of using western European ornamentation to communicate imperial strength. Western symbols such as "official royal portraits, sultanic portrait medals with Latin inscriptions, crowns, scepters, [and] baldachins or royal tapestries" were used to communicate "Ottoman imperial claims to European rivals through an intelligible Western vocabulary."[80]

The building of the Russian Embassy in Istanbul also provided the Ottoman Empire first hand evidence of the ways in which architecture could be used to communicate political power. The Embassy, designed by the Fossati brothers, began construction in 1838, a year before the codification of the Tanzimat edicts and four years before the beginning of construction on the Dolmabahçe Palace. The Neoclassical structure features a rusticated base with rounded fenestration, Ionic pilasters, and a planar façade with minimal ornamentation. A series of wreaths and palmettes adorn the space above each of the second-level rectangular windows, and a vegetal festoon pattern rings the space between the second and third floors. Can writes that "a marked preference was shown by the progressives intent on opening up the country to the outside world for the [N]eoclassical style which at that time constituted a universal type of discourse that was

being adopted all over the world."[81] Although overstated considering Neoclassicism (and earlier western European styles) had already made inroads into the Ottoman Empire, it is clear that the embassy exerted architectural influence in Istanbul. High level Ottoman officials and other members of Ottoman society would visit the construction site to watch the building's progress, and the embassy was cited as evidence of progress in the Ottoman capital.[82]

The embassy, which dominated the skyline upon its completion, was the result of Russian desires "to strengthen the power and prestige in the Ottoman capital of a country that was growing steadily more powerful in the military and political spheres."[83] The embassy was also meant to serve as a challenge to the French and British embassies. Furthermore, rumors circulated through Istanbul that the Tsar hoped to use the building as a palace.[84] The Ottoman government responded by commissioning the Fossatis to build the first stone and brick Ottoman building "employed on a modern scale," a hospital on the Historic Peninsula near the Topkapı Palace and Hagia Sophia.[85] The hospital dominated the entrance the Golden Horn and became a defining part of the skyline on its side of the coast, essentially standing in response to the Russian Embassy. Both the embassy and the hospital, then, indicate that the Empire was tuned in to architecture as a mode and method of power, and that they were paying attention to ways in which it communicated.

The concept of architecture as a representative political force in direct relation to Tanzimat politics was realized with another Fossati building, the Darülfünun University. The Neoclassical complex was built in 1845 and located in the cleared space directly between the Hagia Sophia and Sultan Ahmet Mosque. The university was highly controversial—as a symbol of the positive sciences many felt that it was placed too close

to a mosque. Its siting and scale, not to mention its very construction, "emerged as a monument to Tanzimat ideology."[86]

It is clear that in Ottoman Istanbul, architecture played a prominent role as a symbolic communicator of power and politics. Thus Sultan Abdülmecid actively inspected the Hagia Sophia restorations[87] and his government responded to the architectural prowess of the Russian Embassy. It seems likely, then, that he played an active role in the Dolmabahçe Palace's development as well. Reports indicate that he checked on the progress of the palace and made suggestions to the architectural plan, although it has been stated that his input likely had little impact.[88] First, this does not seem consistent with his power as the Sultan. Second, this interpretation does not seem consistent with his actions at Hagia Sophia. Third, this interpretation is not consistent with what is known about the architectural role played by Abdülmecid's successor, Sultan Abdülaziz. During the construction of Çırağan Palace, which was initiated by Abdülmecid but redesigned and completed by Abdülaziz,[89] the Sultan repeatedly asked for modifications[90] and desiring a more eastern ornamental program, sent artists to Spain and North Africa in order to document eastern architectural styles.[91] It is reasonable to conclude, then, that the architecture of the Dolmabahçe Palace possesses meaning and symbolism, developed with intent by the architects and in consultation with the Sultan, and that it represents a translation of western European styles into an Ottoman context. As will be next demonstrated, the palace used this translation as a communicative device to convey the optimism of reform and the aspirational nature of the Tanzimat era.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE TANZIMAT

How, then is the translation of the Dolmabahçe Palace implemented, and what is its message? The Palace relies on the language of history to convey its message of

reform. This narrative is used to "express imperial and national identities, and cultural and civic authority."[92] Architecture serves as a tool for the communication of identities and political positions, helping both a nation and its peoples better understand who they are where they are going. The Dolmabahçe Palace is able to communicate in the language of history because it provides a distinct break with traditional Ottoman architecture while containing elements that still resonated with Ottoman culture and history; the palace, in other words, used the language of history to walk a fine line between promoting a radically new political agenda and unifying a nation.

Relying on architectural language to describe the translational processes of the Dolmabahçe Palace provides a good fit for analysis because it differentiates the analysis of architectural language from architectural style. Conflation of style and language runs the risk of marginalizing the "social role buildings play" and reducing analysis to "a recognizable and repeatable set of motifs."[93] This reduction to style has been a significant deficiency in the interpretation of the Dolmabahçe Palace and obscures the ways in which the building translated its architectural context in specific and meaningful ways. In other words, describing the palace in terms of style reduces it to its current narrative—a Eurocentric approach that gauges its meaning through its stylistic ornamentation only. Language, alternatively, breaks down the loaded notion of style and opens up the possibility of examining the more nuanced ways that buildings communicate. It also opens the door to understanding architecture as a translation rather than appropriation or imposition. Alofsin calls this more nuanced approach "a net of inquiries that produces a narrative."[94] This net is very much like Michel Foucault's notion triangulation, in which the object operates as a node within a larger contextual network.[95] Scanning over the Dolmabahçe Palace with multiple contextual passes reveals the messages that the palace has left behind to those who would have heard them.

The language of history was first used by the Ottoman Empire in order to communicate a specific national and international identity. The Empire at this time was struggling to balance those identities.[96] Ethnic nationalism was on the rise around Europe and the Ottoman Empire, through the Tanzimat, attempted to create a more cohesive Ottoman identity. The choice of the Balian family to complete the Dolmabahçe Palace was the first step in creating a language of history through architecture. Armenian architect Garabed Balian was selected to the position of imperial architect by Sultan Mahmud II. Sultan Adbulmecid continued to retain his services and in 1844 awarded him the honor of wearing a fez containing the Sultan's tuğra.[97] Garabed Balian was soon joined by his Parisian-trained architect son Nigogos and together they built the Dolmabahçe Palace. Nigogos Balian in particular seemed sympathetic to the principles of the Tanzimat and modernization, as he was educated in multiple areas of the fine arts and sciences, undertook philanthropic and charity work, showed a "strong respect for the rights of others," and "stood up for the rights of the building labourers and masons employed on official construction projects."[98] He also established a technical school to train workers on European stonework techniques, wall decoration, relief carving, and construction. These efforts won him the admiration of Sultan Abdülmecid, who appointed him as an art advisor and awarded him two different commendations.[99]

The Dolmabahçe Palace project, however, could have conceivably been carried out by any one of the multitude of western European architects active in Istanbul at the time. Smith and the Fossatis, for example, received commissions for works by the Sultan at various times throughout his reign. Furthermore, had the Palace been only about posturing to western Europe, these architects could have delivered an unambiguously western architectural form language. Given the desire to balance national and international identities, however, the Palace needed to transmit an Ottoman message.

Thus Smith was out; his attitude toward working in Istanbul was not positive. When asked about his experiences upon returning to London, he replied that he hoped "that he had made some small contributions to the advancement of civilization and had endeavored to assist a barbarous country in its desire to acquire a civilized status."[100] Likewise, the appointment of the Fossatis for the Palace might have sent the wrong message. The Fossatis had just completed the Russian Embassy. While they were tasked with designing the hospital and university, the Ottoman government, keenly aware of the power and symbolism of architecture, might have felt it would appear that they were simply copying the Russians. For a multitude of reasons, then, the Balian Family was the natural choice to complete the palace.

Nigoğos, who is credited with the ornamental program of the Palace and the design of the Ceremony Hall,[101] is central to an understanding of the communicative action of the palace. He studied architecture in Paris[102] beginning in 1842 and graduated from the College Saint-Barbe in 1845.[103] There is some uncertainty over whether or not he studied directly with Henri Labrouste,[104] although it is clear that he would have had close contact with the Labrouste family. Henri's brother Theodore was an architect for the College Saint-Barbe[105] and their other brother Alexander was appointed director of the College in 1838.[106] Nigoğos' predisposition to issues of nationalism and identity—he was a member of the "Young Armenians" group and drafted a version of the Armenian Constitution in 1863—formed during his time in Paris[107] and he would have found a sympathetic audience with Henri Labrouste. Known for his unorthodox interpretation of the Roman Temple of Hera at Paestrum, Labrouste believed that "only when a building began to bear the imprint of social use did it acquire its full meaning."[108] Hoping to create "new forms in harmony with large social developments,"[109] Henri Labrouste intended to make architecture "speak once again"[110] at the Bibliotheque Sainte-Genevieve. In his

library project, Henri Labrouste employed Etruscan motifs and festoon swags as part of the building's symbolic program.[111]

These ideas were likely to have resonated with Nigoğos, who might have applied his ideas about Armenian identity "to the possible formation of ideas about a revised Ottoman identity and its expression through imperial architecture, and most importantly, the use of revived decoration."[112] Working with a Sultan who would have been receptive to these ideas and understood the communicative power of architecture, Nigoğos could have used the Labrouste influence to create his own nationally-focused architecture. Although the Parisian library and the Dolmabahçe Palace could not differ more in their aesthetics, construction, or functionality, they share a common desire to arrive at a new form for new, unprecedented needs. In Henri Labrouste's case, the public library was an entirely new building type.[113] In the case of Nigoğos Balian, a palace built on the modernizing principles of the Tanzimat represented a new building type. The festoons adoring the Dolmabahçe Palace could be one direct manifestation of Henri Labrouste's influence, a link to his interpretation of how the Paestrum temple might have actually been used as an assembly hall, a "non-hierarchal space for secular rituals."[114] As Alyson Wharton concludes, "We have already seen how Garbed Balian was engaged in the creation of a new material culture for Armenians through his efforts in rebuilding churches in the early Tanzimat and in stimulating an 'Armenian Renaissance' in painting. Perhaps therefore Nigoğos Balian was likewise trying to create a renaissance in Ottoman architecture through his Labrouste-like use of reviving ornament."[115] The implication is that the Dolmabahçe Palace was "a hybrid style brought together to revive Ottoman architecture and to create a modern Ottoman imperial material identity."[116]

The ornamental revival mentioned above and carried out in the Dolmabahçe Palace referenced Tulip Era Baroque and Rococo forms, which helped create a sense of

national identity. As Selim Deringil convincingly argues, the Ottoman Empire needed to invent traditions that could provide a narrative for national unification; an appeal to tradition would validate state sovereignty and help communicate a shared identity. One way in which to do this was through increased pomp and ceremony that emphasized the majesty of the state and thus connected all corners of the Empire.[117] In other words, the Empire needed to promote a civic, rather than an ethnic or geographical, form of nationalism that would inspire allegiance above and beyond personal heritage. This pomp needed to be aligned with recognizable symbols that people could easily identify and internalize as their own. It was thus necessary to call upon "pre-existing" traditions and include them within the new symbols of the state,[118] but in such a way that any one group was not alienated or prioritized.

Parallels between the Baroque and Rococo motifs on architecture such as the mid-eighteenth century Fountain of Ahmed III, and the Baroque and Rococo motifs of the Dolmabahçe Palace created such a historical link. The French ornamental themes of the Tulip Era Baroque and Rococo were incorporated into distinctly Ottoman forms, the ornamental elements combining with the broad eaves typical of Ottoman architecture in the Topkapı Palace, Iznik-style tiles, muqarnas sculptural forms, traditional Ottoman interlacing motifs, and gilded Arabic calligraphy. Research shows that the Tulip Era Ottomans did not consider themselves "Westernized" by the use of these motifs, and at this time did not pursue western European ornamentation as a sign of submission.[119] In fact, the Fountain ornamentation provides direct evidence that the Ottoman Empire was clearly internalizing western European motifs while retaining a distinctively Ottoman character.

Kuban concludes that these Rococo "cartouches, oyster shells, acanthus leaves, various other plant motifs, Baroque mouldings and vegetal elements…[introduced] to

Istanbul a city-wide ornamental dynamism that was to persist in succeeding periods."[120] Indeed, these same motifs reappear on the Dolmabahçe Palace, the floral and vegetal motifs with their characteristic S- and C-curves ornamenting both the interior and the exterior of the palace. The palace's heavy use of Baroque and Rococo provides an ornamental and architectural solution to this problem of creating identity: it allowed the leadership to reference a time when the Empire was still relatively strong and stable while drawing upon motifs that had been translated as Ottoman. In the creation of a civic, pan-Ottoman identity ornament had to be chosen carefully. The historical reference could not be too closely identified with traditional Ottoman motifs with their language of power and references to the old ways, as exemplified by the Topkapı Palace. However, the ornamentation needed to be embraced as something part of the Ottoman architectural tradition so that it could be seen as coming from within the Empire rather than imposed or imported from the outside.

Two examples demonstrate the ways in which the early use of the Baroque and Rococo became embedded into Ottoman identity: the architectural design of the Nuruosmaniye Mosque and the Ottoman contribution to the 1873 Universal Exposition of Vienna.[121] Demonstrating the degree to which the translation of eighteenth century Rococo and Baroque forms had already become part of the Ottoman identity, the Empire's contribution to the Viennese Exposition included a "faithful reconstruction" of the Fountain of Ahmed III.[122] The Fountain was chosen for its "purified" Ottoman form and affirmation of the "rebirth of a national style,"[123] indicating that the Rococo and Baroque forms, despite their western European origins, had become translated and ingrained into the Ottoman architectural consciousness. As previously discussed, the Nuruosmaniye Mosque fully engaged the baroque style, too, translating and then internalizing it as part of Ottoman architectural identity.[124] According to Kuban:

> The Nuruosmaniye Complex is actually an original Baroque structure displaying the innovative and creative potential of 18th century Ottoman culture… It proves that the ideas of the creators of the Tulip Period were shared by succeeding generations, and that in the 18th century, the Empire was permeated with a new spirit of reform. Fusion with European culture was taking place in several field and producing a truly original cultural environment.[125]

The Dolmabahçe Palace also promoted Ottoman identity through the retention of Ottoman heritage in plan. While the Fountain of Ahmed III integrated European motifs with Ottoman forms on the exterior of the structure, the palace looked to interior functionality in order to blend forms in the creation of a new architectural expression that captured the Tanzimat Ottoman identity. The palace plan is distinctively Ottoman in layout, with smaller rooms radiating off of large great rooms. The central Ceremony Hall, the center of the Palace complex, represents this Ottoman housing type, only on a much grander scale.[126] Its orientation along the side of the Bosphorus recalls the traditional the Ottoman *yali*, and allowed for retention of specific Ottoman elements. While dignitaries to the Dolmabahçe Palace were for the first time received in a more European manner—they were no longer required to eat an early morning meal before clothing themselves in traditional robes in order to gain entrance into the royal audience chamber[127]—they might have arrived at the Palace's Bosphorus gate by *caique*.[128] The Palace also contains several *hammans* or traditional Turkish baths, as well as the harem, or private living quarters.[129] The living quarters exhibit the Ottoman tradition of painting residences;[130] the harem structure is painted a rose pink color with contrasting detail around the window openings.[131] The result is a curiously incongruous building when viewed from front to back, the ornate stone façade contrasting markedly with the more austere but colorfully painted harem walls. Finally, in keeping with Ottoman tradition the palace did not include formal dining rooms. Meals were served in traditional Ottoman style, whenever and wherever desired.[132] As briefly mentioned previously, the shift in ornamentation and

architectural style did not accompany a total shift in lifestyle. The Dolmabahçe Palace truly represented a blending of culture, motifs, architecture, and outlook to create a new Ottoman identity.

It must be emphasized that the retention of traditional Ottoman forms in plan is not a defect in the adaptation to western European architecture, but rather a demonstration of active translation of European forms into a new architectural synthesis. The same blending of western European-influenced façades with traditional Ottoman plans is found not only in the palace, but also in the individual houses and apartments of the era. Turkish architectural historian Zeynep Enlil conducted a survey of nineteenth century apartments and individual homes of the Pera district, examining their plans and façades for relationships between single family homes and small scale apartments to western European and traditional Ottoman housing features. He found that both home types "appear[ed] to be a variation on long standing building traditions in the city,"[133] and that while the newer nineteenth century homes featured more western European façades, they "were typologically not that much different [internally] from buildings in" older, less modernized areas (figs. 23 and 24). According to Enlil's findings, the "most common traditional elements used in both the residential buildings of Pera and [the residential buildings of the older areas] were projecting bay windows, balconies and projecting eaves which stood out as elements of order as well as continuity and bounded the building traditions of different parts of the city to each other as well as to the building traditions in the past."[134] Just like the Dolmabahçe Palace, individual houses and apartments translated western European forms and influences into Ottoman building traditions, retaining key identifying features of Ottoman domestic architecture both before the Tanzimat and after. While it is a stretch to establish causality between the palace form and regular housing, closer examination of the local housing definitely

demonstrates a movement to blend new forms and functions in ways that remain familiar. The Dolmabahçe Palace and the individual homes speak the same translated architectural language of reform, progress, and modernization.

The architectural language of history embodied by the Dolmabahçe Palace also expressed the Ottoman Empire's political identity and position. As an architectural expression of the Tanzimat, the palace needed to communicate its status as a symbol of the progressiveness of the Empire—a new history and new beginning for the Empire. This new direction was made tangible by the move of the imperial palace from the Topkapı to the Dolmabahçe, which provided a visible break between the old order and the new.[135] Located on a peninsula jutting out into the Golden Horn, the Topkapı Palace was protected on three sides by water and on the fourth side by a large medieval fortress gate. The large complex was surrounded by thick, high walls, insulating physically separating the sovereignty of the Empire from the people.[136] The old Topkapı Palace also followed the model of isolating the Sultan from his subjects;[137] representing a manifestation of Ottoman power that did not give agency to the people and created a deliberate divide between the ruling elite and the common Ottoman. While the Topkapı Palace served as a private retreat for the Sultan, the Dolmabahçe Palace is unapologetically public. The entire length of the palace opens to the Bosphorus and was clearly visible from the Asian shoreline. The Palace utilized walls only around the private harem section; the rest of the palace is surrounded by a slim and transparent metal fence, making the entire administrative and ceremonial part of the Palace visible to anyone passing by. This openness is by design—a way to integrate the Palace and therefore the government into the urban fabric of Istanbul. According to Pars Tuğlacı, the palace's "prominent location at the mount of the waterway and its relationship with the spreading suburbs of the city, leave no doubt that the site was carefully chosen. [The] Dolmabahçe

[area] was designed as the kernel of an urban center…Dolmabahçe Palace [was the] nucleus."[138] Sultan Abdülmecid's own actions bolster the notion that the Ottoman government was interested in demonstrating openness:

> [Abdülmecid] adopted a more relaxed and visible lifestyle than his predecessors… [H]e continued to attend Friday prayers in the traditional Hagia Sophia mosque…. [and rode] through the streets at the head of an elaborate procession. He also began to travel outside Istanbul on inspection tours of the empire, wishing to see for himself how reforming laws were being put into practice.[139]

In what could only be a direct result of the religious reforms of the Tanzimat, the Sultan's political position was further communicated by the Dolmabahçe Palace through the palace's lack of a formal mosque within the building. In contrast to the Topkapı Palace, which contained several mosques within the complex, the Dolmabahçe Palace maintains only a small room for worship purposes[140] and a larger hall that was used for bigger religious ceremonies.[141] Those wanting to participate in formal services had to leave the palace walls and make a brief walk southward to the Dolmabahçe Mosque (fig. 25).[142] This architectural distinction between the Topkapı Palace and the Dolmabahçe Palace, between the old political order and the new, provided a symbolic gesture communicating something like separation of church and state and signaling the government's commitment to the principles of the Tanzimat.

The ornamentation of the Dolmabahçe Palace also played a role in its ability to communicate the Tanzimat political position of national inclusiveness. With the need to foster an "imagined community"[143] of Ottomans across the vast empire, it was imperative to portray a building that was open and accessible to the people. One way of accomplishing this goal was in the ornamental display of the tuğra, the Sultan's name-based official seal. The use of the tuğra to symbolically communicate political messages on architectural structures can be traced back to the mid-eighteenth century, when they

began to appear on works built by the Sultan. According to Hakan Karateke-Reinkowski, the tuğra was used as a symbol of power; where "the tuğra appeared, there the sultan was, in *effigie*, declaring that he, the sultan, was the creator and the protector of that building and that site."[144] A connection between the tuğra and the Tanzimat was established by Sultan Mahmud II, Abdülmecid's father. Creating a coat of arms for the first time in Ottoman history, Mahmud II used his tuğra as the central design element, "supplemented by symbols of religious and modern laws, signifying the state's continuity between the old and the new."[145]

Abdülmecid appears to have continued the tradition of using the tuğra as architectural symbolism and as a link to the Tanzimat. Abdülmecid's tuğra, which can be found on the gates to the Dolmabahçe Palace, the garden side façade, the Bosphorus neoclassical facades, and scattered throughout the ornamentation and decoration of the interior, deviates from previous tuğras in that it contains a flower in place of the traditionally scripted pseudonym (fig. 26). This flower is distinctly Baroque in appearance and mirrors the floral ornamentation of the Dolmabahçe Palace.[146] Just as the tuğra serves as an architectural mark of power by the Sultan, the Baroque pseudonym of Abdülmecid serves as an architectural endorsement of the Tanzimat.

The tuğra also sends a political message in its absence. Contrary to Harkan Karateke's assertion that it appears on all structures of the Sultan, the imperial tuğra is not included on the Tulip Era Fountain of Ahmed III. Brief social and political context is required to elucidate the significance of the missing tuğra. Ahmed III was placed on the throne in 1703 after a military revolt overthrowing his brother, Sultan Mustafa II. The revolt, a power struggle between the Sultan and high level military officials over military losses and perceived military slights, left the Sultanate weak and vulnerable from within.[147] This period of the Ottoman Empire also experienced a "small-scale cultural

revolution"[148] that promoted a pleasurable and beauty-filled lifestyle with an emphasis on the consumption of foreign goods and an increase in material possessions.[149] New forms of civic participation also emerged, and people began to conduct life in the public sphere—gathering, walking, socializing and interacting in newly created public sites.[150] It is in this climate that a new mode of architectural expression developed: the meydan fountain. Reflecting the internal and external political and social changes taking place in the Empire, these novel building types were sponsored by newly wealthy bureaucratic elite looking to bolster their status and prestige through patronage of a public work.[151] Sultan Ahmed III constructed his own version of a meydan fountain in front of the entrance to the Topkapı Palace in 1728. The Fountain of Ahmed III was not the first of the meydan fountains to be built, although it was the first imperial fountain of this type.[152] It displays poetry written by the Sultan[153] but it does not display his tuğra.[154] As a symbol of power and with its implications of imperial ownership, the display of the tuğra may not have been appropriate. The lack of a tuğra indicates that the fountain is about more than the glorification of Ahmed III's reign; it is about legitimizing this new societal movement in such a way that maintains his relevancy in a shifting society. The fountain is for the people and represents the people, and is not a symbol of imperial domination.

The Ceremony Hall of the Dolmabahçe Palace, the main structure from which the entire Palace radiates and the facade that directly confronts visitors as they disembark from the Bosphorus, does not display Abdülmecid's tuğra. The smaller Neoclassical facades along the Bosphorus and on the garden side do contain his tuğra in the triangular pediment, but it is missing from the main political focal point of the entire Palace.[155] As an expression of political domination and ownership, the tuğra at this location might have conveyed the wrong message about the legitimacy of the government and the Sultan's commitment to the reforms of the Tanzimat. As a process of opening and inclusiveness,

with the transfer of power from the person of the Sultan to the government of the Empire itself, the tuğra here would have been incongruous with the Palace's ability to communicate support and commitment to the Tanzimat.

The Ceremony Hall does communicate the strength of the Empire to European visitors, however. Just because the palace does not copy western European architecture, and the Empire was modernizing on its own terms, does not mean that it did not want to be included as part of Europe. Acceptance into the Concert of Europe after the Crimean War is evidence enough that the Ottoman Empire saw its future linked to Europe. However, the Dolmabahçe Palace still needed to be able to communicate power and prestige. The interior architecture and decoration of the Ceremony Hall accomplishes this. The hall is three levels tall—the highest part of the palace. For official ceremonies and visits by dignitaries, the throne from the Topkapı Palace would be placed on the garden side of the room.[156] This would ensure that a visitor entering from the Bosphorus gate would walk into the hall and directly face the throne. With this placement, the great hall essentially served as a frame for the Sultan. The sumptuous grandeur of the gilded ornamental detail is underscored by an unprecedentedly large 4.5 ton English crystal chandelier hanging from the center of the dome,[157] a gift from the staunchly pro-Ottoman Queen Victoria.[158] A total of fifty-six marble columns arranged in pairs and four large crystal fixtures on columns ring a massive Hereke rug.[159] For comparison, the Ceremonial Hall of the Hofburg Palace, constructed from 1802 to 1806, features twenty-six two-tiered crystal chandeliers and twenty-four "stucco lustro" Corinthian columns painted in yellow tones to simulate marble.[160] The cream colored rounded ceiling is ornamented in shallow coffering and rosettes, and trimmed in a dentil and palmette motif. The subdued hall served as the Hapsburg throne room until the collapse of the Empire in 1918.[161] Given that the Ottoman Empire had a history of appropriating western European symbols

as a demonstration of Ottoman strength,[162] it seems the choice was made to present the Tanzimat Empire as a hybrid of the best from both the western European and Ottoman worlds. Additionally, dramatic gifts such as the large chandelier no doubt reminded visiting dignitaries of the close relationship between the Ottoman Empire and Britain at this time, again reinforcing the Empire's place in the Concert of Europe.

Notes

[1] Ernst Gombrich, *The Sense of Order: A Study in the Psychology of Decorative Art* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979).

[2] Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 508-509.

[3] Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 552.

[4] Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 505-506. The history and significance of the Fountain of Ahmed III will be discussed in a later section.

[5] Hilary Sumner-Boyd and John Freely, *Strolling Through Istanbul: The Classic Guide to the City* (London: Tauris Parke Paperbacks, 2010), 87.

[6] Sumner-Boyd and Freely, *Strolling*, 87.

[7] Roth, *Understanding Architecture*, 430.

[8] See Shirine Hamadeh, "Splash and Spectacle: The Obsession with Fountains in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul," *Muqarnas*, Vol. 19 (2002), 131 for a discussion of the fruit motif.

[9] Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 518.

[10] Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 527.

[11] Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 528.

[12] Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 518.

[13] Kuban, *Istanbul: An Urban History*, 474.

[14] Kuban, *Istanbul: An Urban History*, 474.

[15] Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 555.

[16] Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 552.

[17] Afife Batur, "An Influential Name in 19th Century Ottoman Architecture: The Balians," in Hasan Kuruyazıcı, ed., *Armenian Architects of Istanbul in the Era of Westernization* (Istanbul: Batililasan Istanbul'un Ermeni Mimarlari, 2010), 41.

[18] Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 555.

[19] Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 556.

[20] Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 556.

[21] The Palladian-influenced Divan Tower was constructed in 1825. Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, LTD, 1971), 420.

[22] The Pera neighborhood was at the center of architectural Europeanization and contained many of the foreign embassies.

[23] Kuban, *Istanbul: An Urban History*, 483.

[24] Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 565.

[25] Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 570.

[26] Kuban, *Istanbul: An Urban History*, 484.

[27] Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 570.

[28] Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 570.

[29] Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul,* 133.

[30] Tuna Köprülü, *Foreign Palaces of Istanbul* (Istanbul: Istnabul Buyuksehir Belediyesi, 2007), 14.

[31] Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 611.

[32] Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 611.

[33] Can, "Tanzimat and Architecture," in Nur Akin, Afife Batur, and Selcuk Batur, eds. *Seven Centuries of Ottoman Architecture,* 141.

[34] Kuban, *Istanbul: An Urban History*, 453.

[35] Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 610.

[36] Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul,* 133.

[37] Can, "Tanzimat and Architecture," in Nur Akin, Afife Batur, and Selcuk Batur, eds. *Seven Centuries of Ottoman Architecture,* 141 and Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 610.

[38] İhsan Yücel and Öner, et al., *Dolmabahçe Palace*, 13.

[39] Chris Heller, *Splendours of the Bosphorus: Houses and Palaces of Istanbul* (London: Tauris Parke Books, 1993), 161.

[40] Batur, "An Influential Name," in Hasan Kuruyazıcı, ed., *Armenian Architects of Istanbul,* 47.

[41] "Dolmabahçe Palace," National Palaces, TBMM Milli Saraylar, http://www.millisaraylar.gov.tr/portalmain-en/Palaces.aspx?SarayId=16, accessed September 15, 2012.

[42] Heller, *Splendours of the Bosphorus,* 161.

[43] Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul,* 130-131.

[44] Quote from Theophile Gautier, based on his 1853 visit to the Palace. In İhsan Yücel and Sema Öner, *Dolmabahçe Palace* (Istanbul: TBMM Department of National Palaces, 1995), 23.

[45] See İhsan Yücel and Sema Öner, *Dolmabahçe Palace*, 22; Virginia Aksan, *Ottoman Wars 1700-1870: An Empire Besieged* (United Kingdom: Pearson Education Limited, 2007), 409; Heller, *Splendours of the Bosphorus,* 151; Çelik Gülersoy, *Dolmabahçe Palace and Its Environs*, 46-54; İhsan Yücel and Öner, et al., *Dolmabahçe Palace*, 15; and Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 620. In a sweeping dismissal of mid-nineteenth century Ottoman architecture in general, Godfrey Goodwin concluded that the "mid-

century produced no Ottoman work of value." Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, 421.

[46] Gülersoy, *Dolmabahçe Palace and Its Environs*, 46.

[47] The symbolism of the hat cannot be underestimated; Mahmud II moved from the turban to the fez in the early stages of the Tanzimat and one of Atatürk 's major decrees was to outlaw the fez in his famous hat speech. Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, 58.

[48] Photographic evidence shows Austrian Emperor Karl and the Empress Zoe arriving at the Dolmabahçe Palace by boat during their post-World War I visit to Istanbul. The last sultan of the Ottoman Empire departed by boat from the seaside gate of the Dolmabahçe Palace. See Gülersoy, *Dolmabahçe Palace and Its Environs*, 116 and 126.

[49] Present-day visitors can approximate this journey on any one of the daily Seabus commuter boats traveling from the Asian side of Istanbul into Beşiktaş.

[50] Justin McCarthy, *The Ottoman Peoples and the End of Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 23.

[51] See Pars Tuğlacı, *The Role of the Balian Family in Ottoman Architecture* (Istanbul: Yeni Cigur Bookstore: 1990).

[52] Tuğlacı, *The Role of the Balian Family*, 188.

[53] Tuğlacı, *The Role of the Balian Family*, 90.

[54] Afife Batur, "An Influential Name," in Hasan Kuruyazıcı, ed., *Armenian Architects of Istanbul,* 47.

[55] Afife Batur, "An Influential Name," in Hasan Kuruyazıcı, ed., *Armenian Architects of Istanbul ,* 47.

[56] İhsan Yücel and Öner, et al., *Dolmabahçe Palace*, 19.

[57] İhsan Yücel and Öner, et al., *Dolmabahçe Palace*, 19 and Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul,* 130-131.

[58] Tuğlacı, *The Role of the Balian Family*, 90. Also Batur "described as a pre-opening to the historicism that would go on to dominate in the second half of the 19th century." Afife

Batur, "An Influential Name," in Hasan Kuruyazıcı, ed., *Armenian Architects of Istanbul,* 47.

[59] Tuğlacı, *The Role of the Balian Family*, 181.

[60] Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 620.

[61] Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 623.

[62] Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 620-623.

[63] See Leland M. Roth, *Understanding Architecture,* 429 and Peter Ward Jackson, *Some Main Streams and Tributaries in European Ornament from 1500 to 1750* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1969), 121-134.

[64] Roth, *Understanding Architecture*, 484.

[65] Roth, *Understanding Architecture*, 483.

[66] Tuğlacı, *The Role of the Balian Family*, 116-117.

[67] It is interesting to note that Sultan Abdülmecid also constructed an opera house across from the Dolmabahçe Palace. Construction lasted from 1851 to 1858 and the interior was decorated by Sechan, the same interior designer used for the Dolmabahçe Palace and the Paris Opera House (again, note that the Paris Opera House had not yet been completed). Abdülmecid's opera house fell into disuse and then decay, the final traces removed during urbanization projects in the 1940s. By all accounts, however, it was spectacular. Gülersoy, *Istanbul and Its Environs*, 60-66.

[68] Tuğlacı, *The Role of the Balian Family*, 117.

[69] Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, 422.

[70] Sensilay, *Dolmabahçe Palace*,14 and Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 620.

[71] Tuğlacı, *The Role of the Balian Family*, 319.

[72] Tuğlacı, *The Role of the Balian Family*, 323-234 and Alyson Wharton, "The Identity of the Ottoman Architect in the Era of 'Westernization'," in Hasan Kuruyazıcı, ed., *Armenian Architects of Istanbul,* 31.

[73] Çelik Gülersoy, *Dolmabahçe Palace and Its Environs*, 47.

[74] Dolmabahçe Palace tour, November 20, 2012.

[75] Sehran Ozer, retired chemical engineer, November 21, 2012.

[76] İhsan Yücel and Öner, et al., *Dolmabahçe Palace*, 15.

[77] Gülersoy, *Dolmabahçe Palace and Its Environs*, 54.

[78] Tuğlacı, *The Role of the Balian Family*, 87.

[79] Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 457.

[80] Gülru Necipoğlu, "Suleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry," *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 71, No. 3 (Sept. 1989), 425.

[81] Can, "Tanzimat and Architecture," in Nur Akin, Afife Batur, and Selcuk Batur, eds. *Seven Centuries of Ottoman Architecture,* 136.

[82] Can, "Tanzimat and Architecture," in Nur Akin, Afife Batur, and Selcuk Batur, eds. *Seven Centuries of Ottoman Architecture,* 137.

[83] Can, "Tanzimat and Architecture," in Nur Akin, Afife Batur, and Selcuk Batur, eds. *Seven Centuries of Ottoman Architecture,* 137.

[84] Can, "Tanzimat and Architecture," in Nur Akin, Afife Batur, and Selcuk Batur, eds. *Seven Centuries of Ottoman Architecture,* 137.

[85] Can, "Tanzimat and Architecture," in Nur Akin, Afife Batur, and Selcuk Batur, eds. *Seven Centuries of Ottoman Architecture,* 138.

[86] Can, "Tanzimat and Architecture," in Nur Akin, Afife Batur, and Selcuk Batur, eds. *Seven Centuries of Ottoman Architecture,* 139.

[87] Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 456.

[88] Sensilay, *Dolmabahçe Palace*, 11.

[89] Tuğlacı, *The Role of the Balian Family*, 108.

[90] Tuğlacı, *The Role of the Balian Family*, 318.

[91] Diana Barillari and Ezio Godoli, *Istanbul 1900: Art Nouveau Architecture and Interiors* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1996), 36.

[92] Alofsin, *When Buildings Speak*, 13.

[93] Alofsin, *When Buildings Speak*, 10.

[94] Alofsin, *When Buildings Speak*, 12.

[95] Michel Foucault, "Chapter 1: The Unities of Discourse," in *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, http://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/philosophy/works/fr/foucault.htm.

[96] Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*.

[97] Tuğlacı, *The Role of the Balian Family*, 97.

[98] Tuğlacı, *The Role of the Balian Family*, 303.

[99] Tuğlacı, *The Role of the Balian Family*, 303.

[100] Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 611.

[101] Tuğlacı, *The Role of the Balian Family*, 303.

[102] Kuban, *Istanbul: An Urban History*, 488.

[103] Alyson Wharton, "The Identity of the Ottoman Architect in the Era of 'Westernization'," in Hasan Kuruyazıcı, ed., *Armenian Architects of Istanbul,* 29.

[104] Some sources document that he studied with Henri (Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, Gülersoy, *Dolmabahçe Palace and Its Environs*, and Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*) while other sources place him with Theodore Labrouste (Wharton, "The Identity of the Ottoman Architect in the Era of 'Westernization'," in Hasan Kuruyazıcı, ed., *Armenian Architects of Istanbul,* 29).

[105] Wharton, "The Identity of the Ottoman Architect in the Era of 'Westernization'," in Hasan Kuruyazıcı, ed., *Armenian Architects of Istanbul,* 29. See also Frederick Martin, *Handbook of Contemporary Biography* (London: Macmillan and Co, 1870), 156 and *American Architect and Building News*, Vol. 19, No. 524, January-June 1886, pp. 14.

[106] Martin, *Handbook of Contemporary Biography*, 156.

[107] Wharton, "The Identity of the Ottoman Architect in the Era of 'Westernization'," in Hasan Kuruyazıcı, ed., *Armenian Architects of Istanbul,* 31.

[108] Bergdoll, *European Architecture,* 176.

[109] Bergdoll, *European Architecture,* 176.

[110] Bergdoll, *European Architecture,* 179.

[111] Bergdoll, *European Architecture,* 183.

[112] Wharton, "The Identity of the Ottoman Architect in the Era of 'Westernization'," in Hasan Kuruyazıcı, ed., *Armenian Architects of Istanbul,* 29.

[113] Bergdoll, *European Architecture,* 179.

[114] Bergdoll, *European Architecture,* 175.

[115] Wharton, "The Identity of the Ottoman Architect in the Era of 'Westernization'," in Hasan Kuruyazıcı, ed., *Armenian Architects of Istanbul,* 29.

[116] Wharton, "The Identity of the Ottoman Architect in the Era of 'Westernization'," in Hasan Kuruyazıcı, ed., *Armenian Architects of Istanbul,* 31.

[117]Selim Deringil, "The Invention of Tradition as Public Image in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1808-1908," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (Jan. 1993), 6.

[118] Deringil, "Traditions," 7.

[119] Shirine Hamadeh, "Ottoman Expressions of Early Modernity and the "Inevitable" Question of Westernization," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 63, No. 1 (March 2004).

[120] Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 518.

[121] In the late nineteenth century, the Nuruosmaniye Mosque would come to be demonized as a "depraved" example of imported western European style that obliterated traditional Ottoman architectural style. As mentioned above, the Fountain was chosen for its "purified" Ottoman form and affirmation of the "rebirth of a national style" (Barillari and Godoli, *Istanbul 1900,* 43). The irony, of course, is twofold: the late Ottoman Empire

went through a Tanzimat backlash and a traditional Ottoman revival, vilifying the Mosque and Tanzimat architecture in much the same manner that the twentieth century Turkish Republic would use to establish the Ottoman Empire as a decaying, corrupted "other." See Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nationbuilding*. Second, the Fountain contains unambiguous references to French baroque and rococo, which had become so intertwined with Ottoman architectural identity that its origins were forgotten. The translation of the Fountain's ornamental form language into an Ottoman architectural identity would then manifest itself in the Nuruosmaniye Mosque (Barillari and Godoli, *Istanbul 1900,* 43). At this time, the "true culprits" responsibly for hurting Ottoman architectural identity were the Armenian Balians, who "produced monstrous, banal buildings" (Barillari and Godoli, *Istanbul 1900,* 43-44). This sentiment maintains some hold today. As previously mentioned, Goodwin writes that the nineteenth century produced nothing noteworthy or of interest, while Turkish scholars continue to debate whether the Balians should be given so much recognition. (See "Ottoman Architecture Not Just from Armenians and Greeks, Says Historian," *Hürriyet Daily News*, December 10, 2012, accessed September 16, 2012, http://www.Hürriyetdailynews.com/default.aspx?pageid=438&n=1218102840244-2010-12-19.)

[122] Barillari and Godoli, *Istanbul 1900,* 43.

[123] Barillari and Godoli, *Istanbul 1900,* 43.

[124] Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 518.
[125] Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 526.

[126] İhsan Yücel and Öner, *Dolmabahçe Palace*, 27.

[127] Gülersoy, *Dolmabahçe Palace and Its Environs*, 54.

[128] Gülersoy, *Dolmabahçe Palace and Its Environs*, 56.

[129] İhsan Yücel and Sema Öner, *Dolmabahçe Palace*, 27.

[130] Chris Heller, *Splendours of the Bosphorus,* 185.

[131] Observation, Dolmabahçe Palace, November 20, 2012.

[132] Heller, *Splendours of the Bosphorus*, 166.

[133] Zeynep Enlil, "Residential Building Traditions and the Urban Culture of Istanbul in the 19th Century," in Nur Akin, Afife Batur, and Selcuk Batur, eds. *Seven Centuries of Ottoman Architecture,* 308.

[134] The streetscape also took on a more regularized form in the nineteenth century, the result of "a series of building regulations passed" during the Tanzimat, which created city codes for the width of the façade, the permissible proximity of structures built with and without firewalls, and the height of the ground floor. Enlil, "Residential Building Traditions and the Urban Culture of Istanbul in the 19th Century," in Nur Akin, Afife Batur, and Selcuk Batur, eds. *Seven Centuries of Ottoman Architecture,* 308. See also Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul,* 312.

[135] Tuğlacı, *The Role of the Balian Family*, 115.

[136] See Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapi Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (New York: The MIT Press, 1991).

[137] Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power,* xvi.

[138] Tuğlacı, *The Role of the Balian Family*, 116.

[139] Heller, *Splendours of the Bosphorus,* 160.

[140] İhsan Yücel and Öner, et al., *Dolmabahçe Palace*, 56.

[141] Heller, *Splendours of the Bosphorus*, 172.

[142] Heller, *Splendours of the Bosphorus*, 172.

[143] See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).

[144] Harkan Karateke, "Legitimizing the Ottoman Sultanate: A Framework for Historical Analysis," in Hakan T. Karateke and Maurus Reinkowski, eds., *Legitimizing the Order: The Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2005) pp. 13-52. http://lucian.uchicago.edu/blogs/ottomanturkish/files/2011/01/LEGITIMIZING-THE-OTTOMAN-SULTANATE.pdf, 51.

[145] Kemal Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 227.

[146] Observation, Dolmabahçe Palace, November 20, 2012.

[147] Virginia Aksan, *Ottoman Wars,* 35-37.

[148] Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 213.

[149] Barkey, *Empire of Difference*, 213.

[150] Aksan and Goffman, eds., *The Early Modern Ottomans,* 278 and Hamadeh, "Splash," 141-142.

[151] Hamadeh, "Splash," 135 and 124.

[152] Hamadeh, "Splash," 137-139.

[153] Sumner-Boyd and Freely, *Strolling Through Istanbul,* 87.

[154] Observation, Fountain of Ahmed III, July 2012.

[155] Observation, Dolmabahçe Palace, November 20, 2012.

[156] İhsan Yücel and Öner, et al., *Dolmabahçe Palace*, 202.

[157] İhsan Yücel and Öner, et al., *Dolmabahçe Palace*, 206

[158] Heller, *Splendours of the Bosphorus*, 166.

[159] İhsan Yücel and Öner, et al., *Dolmabahçe Palace*, 206.

[160] "Zeremoniensaal," Hofburg Vienna Website, http://www.hofburg.com/english/rooms/mezzanine/zeremoniensaal, accessed April 7, 2012.

[161] "The Hofburg Imperial Palace and the Vienna Konzerthaus," Viener Hofburg-Orchester, http://www.hofburgorchester.at/index.php?id=9&lang=en&folder=49, accessed April 7, 2012.

[162] Necipoğlu, "Suleyman the Magnificent," 425.

Conclusion

It is clear that Sultan Abdülmecid and the Balian family of architects translated a western European architectural context into a form language of history meant to communicate the principles and values of the Tanzimat. Specifically, the Palace demonstrates an architecturally eclectic form in order to promote an Ottoman identity and progressive political outlook during a time of modernization and change. A cursory examination of other Balian structures commissioned by Abdülmecid reveals that only the Dolmabahçe Palace possesses the eclecticism, complexity, and monumental scale of a building able to represent the progress and future of an Empire. The closest approximations to the form and function of the Dolmabahçe Palace can be found in the Bezmialem Valide Sultan Mosque (Dolmabahçe Mosque) and the Ortaköy Mosque.[1] The Valide Sultan Mosque, located next to the Dolmabahçe Palace, was completed by Garabed Balian for Sultan Abdülmecid in 1854.[2] It features a Baroque dome on pendentives, and the same engaged buttress form found at the back of the Dolmabahçe Palace on each of the mosque's four corners to support the downward thrust of the dome. Each buttress tower is terminated with "small European style cupolas."[3] Minimal vegetal and floral forms adorn the exterior, and those forms that are present are clearly depicted and contained. The rest of the structure exhibits a simplified Neoclassicism. Two tall, thin minarets in the form of Corinthian columns pierce through each side of the entrance portal of the mosque. The Ortaköy Mosque was completed in 1855 by Nigoğos Balian for Abdülmecid, and is the closest in resemblance to the Dolmabahçe Palace. Its Baroque and Doric order Neoclassical façade displays a plastic and highly articulate ornamental form language composed of curved wall forms, unidentifiable stylized pilasters, and some floral elements. It also utilizes the engaged buttress form to support the weight of

the dome and each of the four pillars is capped by a rounded pediment and medallion, as if the flat ornamentation on Michelangelo's Porta Pia was extrapolated into three dimensions. Although further investigation is required, the participation of these mosques in the same translational language of history as the Dolmabahçe Palace makes sense, as they would help communicate the Tanzimat's religious reforms.

That the Dolmabahçe Palace did represent and thus communicate the principles of the Tanzimat is clear. As this thesis argues, looking back for a new understanding of the Dolmabahçe Palace first requires a look forward to the twentieth century. Exploration of the link between the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire and the newly formed Turkish Republic reveals the ways in which the Empire has been categorized as an "other," stripped of any internal agency to drive modernization and change. By placing the Dolmabahçe Palace on the trajectory of history in the transition from the Ottoman to the Turkish political structure, it becomes possible to understand the palace as a casualty of marginalization, a byproduct of conventional narratives produced by western, Eurocentric and political biases. Removing these biases reveals a link between the political goals of the Tanzimat and the Republic, as well as a similarity between each era's reliance upon the power of architecture to transform society. Interestingly, Atatürk would employ these same architectural strategies in the early days of the Turkish Republic. For example, Akcan describes Atatürk's Presidential Residence, designed by architect Clemens Holzmeister from 1930 to 1932, as an "[emblem] of modernization and westernization," meant to "demonstrate to the nation how to live the modern way, and to exhibit to the rest of the world how the Turkish bureaucrats had stripped off their Oriental habits."[4]

This parallel between the architectural modernism of the twentieth century Turkish Republic and the Tanzimat mindset of the Ottoman Empire permits an application of localizing concepts of modernization that gives each era its own agency

and power to make change and drive progress. The Dolmabahçe Palace, then, becomes part of a continuum of modernization—a symbol of hope and progress rather than a token of decay and decline. The language of the Dolmabahçe Palace speaks to this optimism, and it does so by translating motifs from both Europe and its own historical context into a new ornamental and architectural form language.

Engagement in this architectural translation was first made possible through the incorporation and assimilation of various eighteenth and nineteenth century western European architectural styles. From the French Baroque and Rococo of the Tulip Era to variations of Neoclassicism in the nineteenth century, structures such as the Fountain of Ahmed III and the Russian Embassy provided a material, cultural, and symbolic architectural nexus upon which Sultan Abdülmecid and the Balian family of architects could draw. The resulting synthesis of ornamental language and architectural form in the palace was not a blind copy or assimilation, but rather a deliberate choice with meaning and intent.

The exuberance of the Dolmabahçe Palace's architecture is illustrative of an Empire not yet resigned to its fate, a testament to its efforts at great change and progress. The palace unequivocally embodies the principles of the Tanzimat, demonstrated through linkage to past architectural motifs, commentary on the role of the Sultan, and an eclectic architecture to reflect an eclectic Empire. A monumental gesture to the dawning of a new age, the Dolmabahçe Palace was meant to serve a physical manifestation of the principles of the Tanzimat.

Notes

[1] Other Balian/Abdülmecid buildings include the Küçüksu Kasrı and Ihlamur Kasrı, the Beykoz Pavilion, and the Küçük Mecidiye Mosque. The Küçüksu Kasrı's ornamental

program was modified by Abdülaziz, who felt that it was not sufficiently elaborate enough (Heller, *Splendours of the Bosphorus*, 182). This implies that Nigoğos' original design was more restrained than the Dolmabahçe Palace, but it is impossible to say. The Ihlamur Kasrı features a similar ornamental language—it is clearly a building by Nigoğos Balian—but it lacks the scale or eclectic complexity of the Dolmabahçe Palace. The baroque ornamental form language completely dominates (see Tuğlacı, *The Role of the Balian Family*, 374-377). The Beykoz Pavilion was designed by Nigoğos Balian for an Egyptian government official who intended it as a gift for Abdülmecid. A neorenaissance structure, its similarity to the Dolmabahçe Palace ends there (see Tuğlacı, *The Role of the Balian Family*, 308). Finally, Küçük Mecidiye Mosque, completed in 1848, features a simplified baroque form language. Some ornamental similarities exist, such as the simplified vegetal scrollwork over the rounded pediment entrance to the building and the engaged buttresses supporting the dome, but it lacks the overall visceral impact of the Dolmabahçe Palace (see Tuğlacı, *The Role of the Balian Family*, 378-379). The Küçük Mecidiye Mosque appears to be, visually at least, a precursor to the Valide Sultan Mosque at the Dolmabahçe Palace.

[2] Tuğlacı, *The Role of the Balian Family*, 109.

[3] Tuğlacı, *The Role of the Balian Family*, 109.

[4] Akcan, *Architecture in Translation*, 54-57.

Figures

Figure 1: View of the Dolmabahçe Palace from the Bosphorus (photograph by author, Istanbul, Turkey, November 20, 2012).

Figure 2: Fountain of Ahmed III (photograph by author, Istanbul, Turkey, July 25, 2012).

Figure 3: Nuruosmaniye Mosque (Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 527).

Figure 4: Kuleli Cavalry Barracks (photograph by author, Istanbul, Turkey, July 25, 2012).

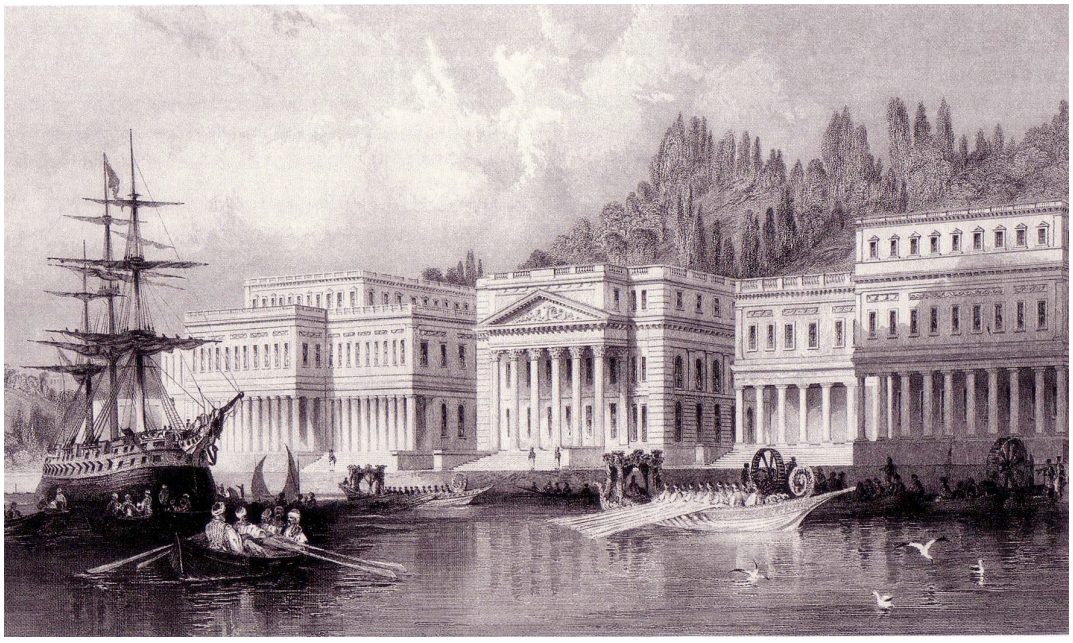

Figure 5: Old Çırağan Palace (Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 569).

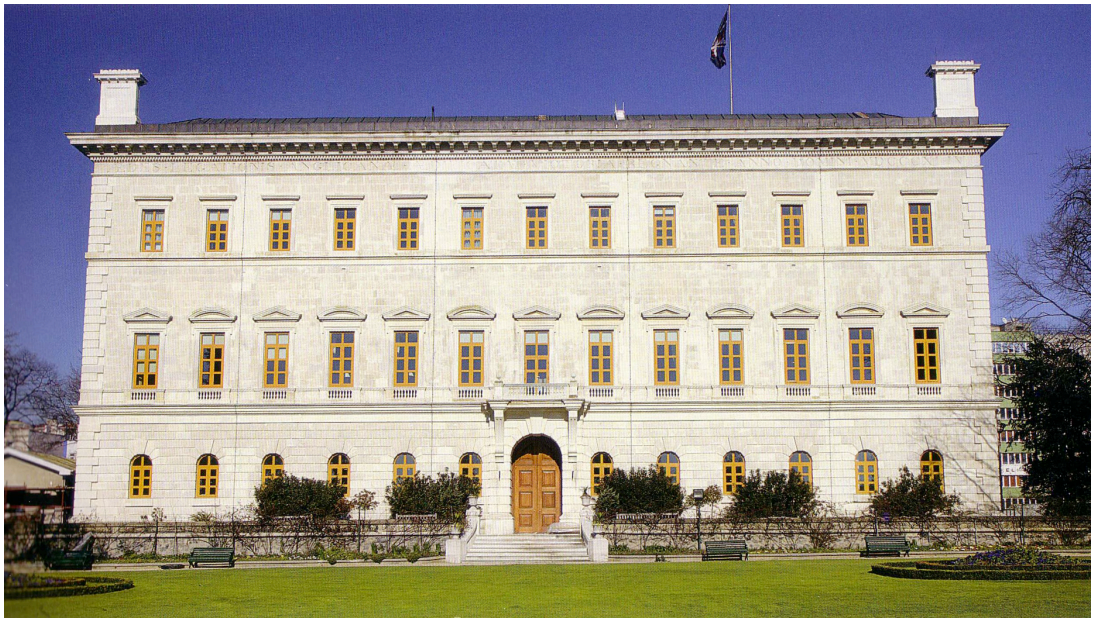

Figure 6: British Embassy in Istanbul (Köprülü, *Foreign Palaces of Istanbul*, 15).

Figure 7: Russian Embassy in Istanbul (Köprülü, *Foreign Palaces of Istanbul*, 93).

Figure 8: Dolmabahçe Palace Ceremony Hall (photograph by author, Istanbul, Turkey, November 20, 2012).

Figure 9: Dolmabahçe Palace connection between the Ceremony Hall and Administrative Wing (photograph by author, Istanbul, Turkey, November 20, 2012).

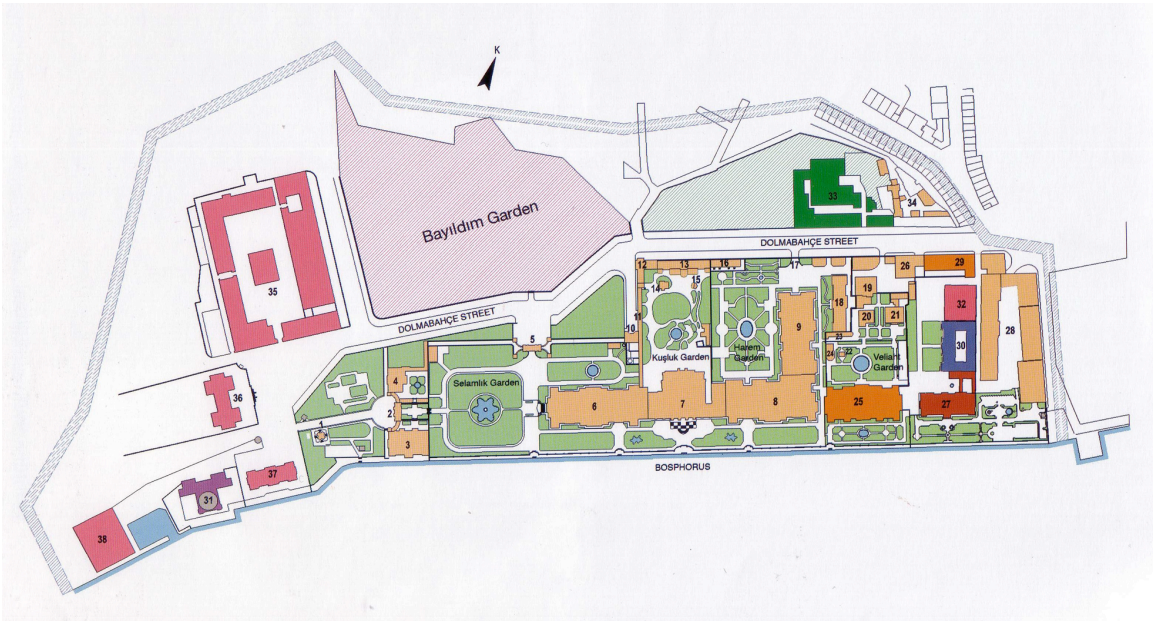

Figure 10: Plan of the Dolmabahçe Palace (Yücel and Öner, et al., *Dolmabahçe Palace*, 29).

Figure 11: Dolmabahçe Palace Administrative Wing (photograph by author, Istanbul, Turkey, November 20, 2012).

Figure 12: Dolmabahçe Palace ornamental detail of the Administrative Wing (photograph by author, Istanbul, Turkey, November 20, 2012).

Figure 13: Dolmabahçe Palace detail of tracery ornamentation and festoons (photograph by author, Istanbul, Turkey, November 20, 2012).

Figure 14: Dolmabahçe Palace Bosphorus façade (photograph by author, Istanbul, Turkey, November 20, 2012).

Figure 15: Dolmabahçe Palace Ceremony Hall (photograph by author, Istanbul, Turkey, November 20, 2012).

Figure 16: Dolmabahçe Palace Ceremony Hall detail (photograph by author, Istanbul, Turkey, November 20, 2012).

Figure 17: Dolmabahçe Palace Ceremony Hall (photograph by author, Istanbul, Turkey, November 20, 2012).

Figure 18: Dolmabahçe Palace connection between the Ceremony Hall and Private Residence (photograph by author, Istanbul, Turkey, November 20, 2012).

Figure 19: Dolmabahçe Palace Private Residence (photograph by author, Istanbul, Turkey, November 20, 2012).

Figure 20: Dolmabahçe Palace back of the Ceremony Hall (photograph by author, Istanbul, Turkey, November 20, 2012).

Figure 21: Approach to the Dolmabahçe Palace from the Bosphorus (photograph by author, Istanbul, Turkey, November 20, 2012).

Figure 22: Interior of the Dolmabahçe Palace Ceremony Hall (Yücel and Öner, et al., *Dolmabahçe Palace*, 202).

Figure 23: Housing constructed from wood in the Fener-Balat neighborhood (photograph by author, Istanbul, Turkey, November 21, 2012).

Figure 24: Housing constructed from stone and brick with a box projection in the Fener-Balat neighborhood (photograph by author, Istanbul, Turkey, November 21, 2012).

Figure 25: Dolmabahçe Palace Mosque (photograph by author, Istanbul, Turkey, November 20, 2012).

Figure 26: Dolmabahçe Palace detail of Sultan Abdülmecid's tuğra (photograph by author, Istanbul, Turkey, November 20, 2012).

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